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S. Deger-Jalkotzy

From LH IIIC Late to the Early Iron Age. The Submycenaean Period at Elateia

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LH III C CHRONOLOGY AND SYNCHRONISMS III

EDITED BY

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LH III C CHRONOLOGY AND SYNCHRONISMS III
LH III C LATE AND THE TRANSITION TO THE EARLY IRON AGE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP HELD AT THE AUSTRIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AT VIENNA FEBRUARY 23RD AND 24TH, 2007

Edited

by

SIGRID DEGER-JALKOTZY AND ANNA ELISABETH BÄCHLE

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CONTENTS

SIGRID DEGER-JALKOTZY

FROM LH III C LATE TO THE EARLY IRON AGE: THE SUBMYCENAEAN PERIOD AT ELATEIA

As pointed out at the previous LH III C Workshop held in Vienna and on various other occasions, the Mycenaean cemetery at Elateia-Alonaki is distinguished by its longstanding use from LH III A to the Geometric period. Even more striking is the fact that in LH III C Middle/Advanced a pinnacle of economic prosperity and population growth was achieved which continued to flourish beyond the final phases of the Mycenaean period (DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, 143–145) and lasted, in fact, until an early phase of the Protogeometric period.[1] However, at closer introspection it appears that the transition from LH III C Late to the Early Iron Age at Elateia was not as straight as the continuous use of the cemetery suggests. Several tombs were abandoned in LH III C Late. In contrast, others were filled with an increasing number of burials, and even new tombs were dug during the subsequent span of time. Cultural changes are reflected by new assemblages of burial gifts, and changes in the burial habits may well have had a demographic background (DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002. – DAKORONIA 2004. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2004). However, due to the idiosyncratic development of the local pottery styles of Central Greece (DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007) it is difficult to define the successive stages of the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. In particular the question arises whether there was a distinct chronological phase at Elateia which may be called "Submycenaean".[2] Under these premises we have decided to approach this problem by searching the tombs and burial contexts of Elateia for elements which may be either classified as "Submycenaean" in the conventional sense of the term, or which may be considered synchronous with the cultural elements of the Submycenaean period in Attica and elsewhere. Several such tombs and their burial contexts will be presented in this article. We hope that they will substantiate our view that the history of Elateia did indeed undergo a distinct period which may be called Submycenaean. Moreover, this period seems to have been subdivided into two phases: We have labelled the first one "SH III C Spätest/Submykenisch Früh" on an earlier occasion because it is difficult to decide whether it should be regarded as the final phase of LH III C Late, or as an early phase of Submycenaean (cf. DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002). In the present article "SH III C Spätest" will be translated as "LH III C Final", which corresponds to "Final Mycenaean" in the terminology of Ioannis Moschos for the same span of time (cf. MOSCHOS this volume). – The subsequent second phase may be called Submycenaean in the proper sense of the term, even if the Myceneaean tradition still made itself felt, particularly with regard to the wheel-made pottery (on this point see DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999). – Finally it has to be discussed whether or not a third phase, too, should be assigned to the Submycenaean period (see chapter 3).

[1] After EPG the cemetery was abandoned to a large extent. Only a reduced number of tombs continued to be in use in the 10th and 9th centuries BC (DAKORONIA 2004. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2004).

[2] On the history of and the scholarly dispute around the term "Submycenaean" see the useful summary by MOUNTJOY 1988, 1–5.

1. THE FIRST SUBMYCENAEAN PHASE ("LH III C FINAL/EARLY SUBMYCENAEAN")

The ambiguity in chronology of this phase is mainly provoked by the pottery which displays features both of Mycenaean and of Submycenaean vessels. However, there was a change in burial customs, and among the metal objects novel elements appeared which are commonly attributed to the Submycenaean period.

1.1. The evidence

T. XXVI/88[3]

It is a well-known fact that in many regions of Greece the end of the Mycenaean civilisation was marked by a fundamental change of grave types and burial habits. In contrast the Mycenaean chamber-tombs at Elateia continued to be used far beyond the end of LH III C. Moreover, several tombs dug at a later time still adhered to the idea of the rock-chamber, even if their shapes no longer corresponded to the canonical layout of Mycenaean chamber-tombs (DEGER-JALKOTZY – DAKORONIA 1991). However, it is significant to the subject of this article that such "a-canonical" chamber-tombs first appeared during a period of time which immediately followed after LH III C Late. For these early "a-canonical" chamber-tombs T. XXVI/88 (Fig. 1) may be called in evidence. Its layout consisted of a very short dromos and a hollow which deserves the name of a burrow rather than that of a chamber. Instead of a regular stomion there was an edge backing the large slab by which the opening was closed.

At first sight one might assume that T. XXVI had been designed for a single burial. However, it contained the remains of three individuals.[4] The small "chamber" of T. XXVI required an extremely contracted position of the corpses so that dead bodies must have been "tied up like parcels".[5] The same phenomenon occurred in the small tombs T. XXV/88 and T. XXX/88, too, which can be dated to the same period. These tombs therefore corresponded not only in shape, but also in use to the Mycenaean multiple-burial chamber-tombs. [In contrast, the "a-canonical tombs" of the 10th and 9th centuries BC only contained single burials: The Mycenaean chamber-tomb was then obviously combined with the Early Iron Age practice of single burials.]

The chronology of T. XXVI is set by the burial gifts. They were confined to the burial of the woman. At her head the lekythos XXVI/8a (Fig. 1) was deposited, another lekythos was found next to her right arm (Fig 1:XXVI/8c). On one of her fingers there was still a bronze ring (Fig. 1[plan]:XXVI/8g). It consists of a hammered bronze band with overlapping terminals[6] and corresponds to a type that, according to the *communis opinio*, first appeared during the Submycenaean period (cf. KRAIKER – KÜBLER 1939, 85–86. – CATLING – CATLING 1980, 247–248. – RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 207). However, the classification of the two lekythoi is ambivalent. On the one hand the completely monochrome surface of XXVI/8c and the three circumcurrent parallel wavy-lines in the shoulder zone of XXVI/8a perfectly correspond to the deco-

[3] Excavated by the Austrian team (directed by Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy) of the Greek-Austrian excavations at Elateia-Alonaki. Excavation team of T. XXVI: Eva Alram-Stern (field-director), Anna Weiß(-Bächle).

[4] The skeletal remains were those of a woman, a man and a small child. – My thanks are due to the late Prof. Egon Reuer and to Dr. Susanne Fabrizii-Reuer who conducted the anthropological investigation of the burials. All information given in this article on the human remains from the cemetery at Elateia-Alonaki has been provided by their generosity.

[5] This rather drastic but illustrative comparison was coined by Egon Reuer.

[6] For the type see Ruppenstein 2007, 207–208, "Bandringe"; for illustration see KRAIKER – KÜBLER 1939, 85 fig. 3, left and right. – The metal finds from Elateia are being studied for publication by Dr. Phanouria Dakoronia, my friend and partner at the Elateia excavations. All information on the metal finds mentioned in this article is owed to her.

rative systems of LH III C Late. On the other hand both vases have a tall neck and a flaring rim, and their overall appearance is baggy because their largest diameter is situated far below the middle of their height. These features are generally considered typical of Submycenaean lekythoi. Fabric and paint of XXVI/8a are good, while the quality of XXVI/8c is rather poor. On balance, the chronological position of the two lekythoi was either at the very end of LH III C Late or already at the beginning of Submycenaean (= "LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean"). Comparable lekythoi found in the chamber-tombs of Kephallonia/Lakkithra have been classified as LH III C Late *(RMDP*, 457–458, fig. 165, esp. no. 49). However, P. A. Mountjoy herself admits that "on Kephallonia pottery in the LH III C style may well continue into this [*scil.* Submycenaean] phase" *(RMDP*, 55–56). Indeed I. Moschos has convincingly argued that the Mycenaean tombs on Kephallonia were still in use during the Submycenaean Phase 6a of his chronological scheme for Western Achaia (MOSCHOS this volume). Therefore the two lekythoi from T. XXVI of Elateia may be classified as "LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean". This date agrees well with the bronze ring found on a finger of the skeleton.

As mentioned above, in T. XXVI and other early "a-canonical" tombs the corpses were buried in an extremely contracted position. However, it would be wrong to ascribe this burial practice to the small dimensions of the tombs because it was carried out in large chamber-tombs, too. T. LXII/90 provides a good example.

T. LXII/90[7]

This was one of the largest tombs of the cemetery and one of the richest in terms of burial gifts (for the plan of the tomb see DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 143 fig. 5). Its use lasted from LH III A2 until the early phase of the Submycenaean period under discussion. The tomb contained the remains of no less than 134 individuals, most of them deposited in ten floor-pits in the chamber of the tomb. The roof of the chamber had collapsed. In the debris many Hellenistic/Roman vessels and even a Roman child burial in an amphora were found. Roman pottery occurred among the finds on the floor of the chamber, too, so that the LBA burials had not remained undisturbed. However, in the north-western part of the chamber a burial group was found on the floor *in situ* (Fig. 2). It consisted of three skeletons piled up one upon another in an extremely contracted position. Intermixed with these interments there were two cremations (DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 141). The burial gifts associated with this group mainly consisted of Mycenaean objects such as two spindle whorls, a bronze knife, and a seal-stone (DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – SAKELLARIOU 1996, 75 no. 101). However, the decisive dating criteria are provided by a cast bronze ring with plane-convex section,[8] and by the stirrup jar LXII/23e (Fig. 2:1). This vessel again confronts us with the problem whether it should be assigned to the very end of LH III C Late, or to Submycenaean. The decoration of the vase and particularly of the shoulder zone is consistent with the Mycenaean style of LH III C Late but its baggy appearance is that of FS 177. By comparison, a stirrup jar from Achaia dated to LH III C Late by P. A. Mountjoy *(RMDP*, 434–435, fig. 154, no. 114) displays a similar decorative system, but its shape is globular-biconical and the largest diameter is situated at the middle of the vessel's height. LH III C Late stirrup jars from Elateia, too, are clearly FS 175 and differ in shape from LXII/23e (for examples see Fig. 3:1 [LXII/27b]; DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 144 fig. 6a. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, figs. 3:5, 6:7). Therefore LXII/23e should be classified as LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean rather than as LH III C Late. This assignment is supported by the

[7] Excavated by the Greek team (directed by Phanouria Dakoronia) of the Greek-Austrian excavations at Elateia-Alonaki. Excavation team of T. LXII: S. Dimaki (field-director), E. Zachou.

[8] For the type(s) see RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 206: "Bronzeringe, Typ a". – For illustration see KRAIKER – KÜBLER 1939, 83 fig. 3, Grab 70. – Rings of this type are generally assigned to the Submycenaean period, see RUPPENSTEIN *l.c.* – CATLING – CATLING 1980, 248.

aforementioned bronze ring of a type which is generally said to have first appeared during the Submycenaean period. Moreover, close to the burial group the miniature stirrup jar LXII/23ζ (Fig. 2:3) was discovered. This vase which probably had also belonged to the burial gifts of the group is certainly Submycenaean. In fact, it has been connected by I. Moschos to the pottery style of his Submycenaean Phase 6a in Western Achaia (MOSCHOS this volume). A little further east of the north-western burial group the remains of several more burials had been deposited of which, however, none was found *in situ*. Of the two vases associated with this group the amphoriskos LXII/24θ (Fig. 2:4) again displays a combination of LH III C Late decoration and Submycenaean shaping. In contrast, the lekythos LXII/24η (Fig. 2:2) displays features which were characteristic of the advanced Submycenaean period (see further below, p. 95). A spiral hair-ring should also be assigned to the Submycenaean period.[9] In sum, the burials from the north-western corner of T. LXII should be dated to a period when LH III C Late had already given way to the Submycenaean period. The same date may be assigned to the finds from the south-western part of the chamber: They included a long dress-pin with an elongated swelling and ring-like mouldings on the upper end of the shaft,[10] several bronze rings of Submycenaean types (see our notes 6, 8) and a small monochrome juglet FS 115 of a depressed-biconical shape with a disproportionately tall neck. Since no burials were found in that part of the tomb it cannot be excluded that these objects had also originally belonged to the north-western burial group.

In contrast to the burial group in the north-western part of the chamber, the skeletons found in the **eastern** part had not remained undisturbed. Only those of two women were found more or less *in situ* so that it was possible to understand that they had been deposited with slightly contracted legs and outstretched upper body. It is difficult to tell when they had been buried because the burial gifts had obviously been either re-arranged or removed. Only a necklace of steatite with a characteristic pendant had remained in its original place with one of the two skeletons. At Elateia such necklaces were generally a feature of LH III C jewellery (DIMAKI 1999, 207). This agrees with the chronology of the vases from this area of T. LXII which can be assigned to a stretch of time from LH III B2 or III C Early through LH III C Late.[11] The small finds, too, are typical of Mycenaean burials.[12] Moreover, the position of the two skeletons seems to conform to a burial custom which was practiced during the Mycenaean period: The – admittedly few – undisturbed burials from Elateia-Alonaki dating to LH III C Late had been deposited in exactly the same way.[13]

Under these premises it appears that the burial of corpses in a tightly contracted position was a deviation of the traditional custom. On evidence of early "a-canonical" tombs such as T. XXVI and of "normal" chamber-tombs such as the burial group in the eastern part of T. LXII it appears that the new practice was introduced during the LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean period (further evidence is provided by tombs such as T. XLIV/89 and LXIV/90). Moreover, during the same span of time cremations, too, were deposited on the floors and in

[9] For differentiation between spiral finger-rings and "hair-rings" see RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 208 (finger-rings) and 229–230 (hair-rings, with illustration fig. 11 and pl. 30 [Grab 136]).

[10] Information kindly supplied by Phanouria Dakoronia.

[11] For the two amphoriskoi T. LXII/24ιε (FS 59, LH III B2) and T. LXII/25ιε (FS 199, LH III C Early) see BÄCHLE 2003, 224 and figs. 5, 6. – Apart from these already published vases, there were several small jugs of LH III C Advanced and Late, a stirrup jar of LH III C Advanced/Late, and a LH III C Late lekythos.

[12] For an enumeration of these finds see DIMAKI 1999, 207. – Remarkably enough these finds moreover included 13 bronze finger-rings made of hammered bronze bands with a flat or plane-convex profile, and with open or overlapping terminals: Does this imply that this type which is commonly considered Submycenaean already occurred at Elateia in LH III C Late? This important point will be discussed further below in paragraph 1.2.2.

[13] According to Dr. Phanouria Dakoronia this position of skeletons may be viewed as a typical feature of Mycenaean (and even earlier) burial habits in Central Greece (personal communication).

pits of several tombs of the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery (DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002). We shall return to this point further below (see paragraph 1.2.3).

1.2 Discussion: Novel elements in the material culture and in burial customs

1.2.1. Pottery

Generally speaking the pottery of the first Submycenaean phase (LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean) remained Mycenaean in appearance. The decorative system faithfully adhered to the Mycenaean tradition particularly of LH III C Late but it lacked in inspiration. There was a preference for dark-ground surfaces with narrow unpainted zones on the neck, shoulder and/or lower part of the vases. Patterned decoration of shoulders and of narrow body zones was reduced to a small repertoire of motifs such as simple or multiple arcs (for a dotted version see Fig. 2:1) and triangles with or without fringes, single or multiple horizontal wavy lines, zig-zag. Motifs painted on shoulders and handle-zones of light-ground vases, too, were of LH III C origin such as horizontal bands, quirk (Fig. 3:6), horizontal wavy-line(s) (Fig. 1:XXVI/8a), and scroll and tassel (Figs. 12:1,2; 14:1,2. – For a scroll still used on a large PG amphora cf. DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, fig. 11c).

The technical quality of the ceramics deteriorated (cf. Fig. 14:1,3,6,7).[14] The clay was often badly prepared, the firing inadequate. Due perhaps to these shortcomings, the height of vases hardly ever exceeds 0.15 m. Moreover, the largest diameter of vases tended to drop to the lower part of the body and shapes became baggy. However, a change in taste cannot be excluded either, because baggy vases occurred in Attica (*RMDP*, 626–627, fig. 239, nos. 610, 611. – KRAIKER – KÜBLER 1939, pl. 15: nos. 451, 452, 520; pl. 18: no. 466) and in other regions, too (Euboea: *RMDP*, 723 fig. 278:100,101,102,105. – Phokis: *RMDP*, 794 fig. 315:301,304,305,307. – Kephallonia: SOUYOUZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, pls. 3:A1090,1092,1468,1525; 8:A1018, 1019. – Lakonia: DEMAKOPOULOU this volume, figs. 6; 24 left). – Biconical shapes, too, occurred but were less prominent at Elateia than in other regions. – The paint of decorated vases is often dull and smeary and flakes off easily.

The repertoire of shapes was reduced to amphoriskoi FS 59 and 60, small jugs in several variations of FS 115, lekythos, and stirrup jar FS 177. *Amphoriskoi* now display a wide neck rising in a continuous, soft line from the sloping shoulder (Figs. 2:4; 3:6). The horizontal handles of amphoriskoi FS 60 are often set low, at the largest diameter of the baggy shape of the body (Fig. 3:6). This shape was the direct forerunner of the taller belly-handled amphoriskos of the subsequent second phase of the Submycenaean period at Elateia (cf. Figs. 5:XXIV/18c; 8:5 [XLIX/16o]; see further below, *2.2.1.2*). Amphoriskoi with vertical handles on the shoulder will be discussed further below, pp. 95–96. The type may have been introduced at Elateia during LH III C Late but it became extremely popular during the Submycenaean period (Figs. 10–12 and 14). – Like the amphoriskos the *lekythos*, too, reached a peak of popularity during the Submycenaean period (Fig. 9). However, in the EPG period this shape was no longer in use, very much in contrast to other regions such as Attica and Euboea (LEMOS 2002, 9–11). During the LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean phase the lekythoi mainly carried dark-ground decoration (Fig. 9:1–3). – *Stirrup jars* were still used for burial gifts in the LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean period but they were less popular than they had been throughout all phases of LH III. The shape is now FS 177. The decoration was either an uninspired continuation of LH III C Late motifs and patterns (cf. Figs. 2:1; 3:5) or it was a disorderly pasticcio of idiosyncratic motifs (Fig. 2:3). Small specimens (Figs. 2:3; 3:1; *ADelt* 40, 1985 [1990] *Chron*, pl. 58ε)

[14] My thanks are due to Mr. Christos Vaporakis, conservator at the Museum of Atalanti and ceramicist. I have greatly profited from many discussions with him and from his information on the technical aspects of pottery-making.

had become popular in LH III C Late and remained in the repertoire during the LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean phase. During the second Submycenaean phase the use of the stirrup jar declined and the shape no longer appeared in contexts of the EPG period. – In contrast, the *small jug* FS 115 was a great survivor. Like amphoriskos and lekythos, this shape reached a pinnacle of popularity during the LH III C Late/Early Submycenaean period. The shape may assume a baggy or (less frequently) a biconical appearance, and the neck varies in height and width. The decoration is almost invariably dark-ground (for a few examples see DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002, figs. 2 and 7:XXXVII/6στ; fig. 7:LVII/5κθ). During the EPG period small jugs also continued to play an important role within the ceramic repertoire at Elateia (cf. e.g. DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, fig. 10).

Open shapes are not represented among the burial gifts deposited on floors and in pits. In contrast, most pottery fragments found in the dromos fills belonged to open shapes. However, it is very difficult to reconstruct from the fragmentary material any open shapes that could be specifically assigned to LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean. Moreover, study of this material still has a long way to go. A. Weiß(-Bächle) who has published pottery finds from 14 dromoi tentatively attributed a certain type of shallow dark-ground bowls with broad bars or splashes across the unpainted flat or sloping lip to Submycenaean/Protogeometric (WEISS 1993, 44–45 and figs. 7:23; 16:105,109; 20:129,132,133,140; 23:153+156). A Submycenaean date of these bowls appears very probable in view of the fact that the respective pieces mainly came from the dromoi of tombs T. XXIV/88, T. XXXV/88, T. XLIX/89, and T. LXII/90 which are all pertinent to the present article. Moreover, it may be expected that with the progress of our pottery study it will be possible to assign certain cups, skyphoi and craters, too, to the Submycenaean period.

1.2.2. Metal objects

This material is being studied by Phanouria Dakoronia, and I would not like to graze in her field. On the other hand it is impossible to talk about cultural changes in the Submycenaean period without referring to finger-rings, fibulae, and dress-pins. Therefore I have decided to mention just the first appearances of novel metal objects during the transition from the Mycenaean to the EIA at Elateia, without entering into the technical details. Dr. Dakoronia has kindly supported me with information for which I am most grateful. (For a first survey of the metal finds from Elateia see DAKORONIA 2004, as well as Ph. Dakoronia's contribution to DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002). – Of course, the picture presented in this article must be regarded as preliminary, and any errors remain with me.

During the so-called "LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean" phase long dress-pins with oblong swellings on the upper part and with nail-heads or other terminals on top of the shaft made their first appearance in the tombs of Elateia-Alonaki. Some were additionally decorated with incisions and/or ring-like mouldings. Most of them reached a considerable length of 30cm and more. During that span of time they did not occur in pairs.

Violin-bow shaped fibulae with twisted bow or with leaf-shaped bow decorated with patterns in dot repoussé were still in use and indeed may have still been made during this phase. However, these objects had had their heyday during LH III C Late.

The largest group of metal objects were finger-rings which were found in great numbers.[15] In fact, some skeletons still had rings on almost every single finger. They consisted of hammered bands with open or overlapping terminals with flat or plane-convex section. A few rings had a midrib, too. Another type consisted in cast rings of modest width and with plane-convex

[15] For discussion and references see above, pp. 78–80 and ns. 6, 8, 9.

section. Moreover, bronze spirals were used for finger-rings or for hair-rings (as defined by RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 207, 229–230).

It cannot be excluded that some of these types had occurred at Elateia earlier than in Attica and Euboea. In this respect **T. LXII** again may be called in evidence. As already elaborated above, the north-western part of the chamber contained a burial group of LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean date (Fig. 2). Precisely underneath this group **Pit A** was dug in the floor of the chamber. The burials on the floor were preserved *in situ*, so that LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean was the *terminus ante quem* – or *ad quem*, at the latest – for the filling of the Pit A. It contained the skeletal remains of seven individuals and two cremations, together with a rich array of various objects (listed in DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – SAKELLARIOU 1996, XIX). In particular, a great number of bronze objects mostly of LH III date[16] stand out. However, there were also ten finger-rings made of bronze bands with flat or plane-convex section and with open or overlapping terminals, one ring with four antithetic spirals, and four spiral rings. Such objects are commonly considered to have first appeared in the Submycenaean period.[17] Under these premises the only vase found in Pit A is of great chronological importance because it clearly dates to LH III C Late (Fig. 3:1 [LXII/27b]). Therefore it cannot be excluded that finger-rings made of bronze bands, hair-rings and finger-rings with antithetic spiral terminals were already in use at Elateia during LH III C Late (see below n. 18). – This conclusion seems to be supported by the bronze objects found on the floor of the eastern part of **T. LXII** (cf. above, p. 80 and n. 12). The violin-bow shaped fibulae with twisted bow and with leaf-shaped bow, as well as a fragmentary Mycenaean knife conform to the chronology of LH III C Late provided by the burial vases. In contrast, the finger-rings made of narrow hammered bands with open or overlapping terminals were of a type which is commonly classified as Submycenaean. The same evidence is provided by **Pit 1** in the dromos of **T. XXIV**: The vases mainly date to LH III B and III C Middle, and the small finds are Mycenaean. However, there were three "Submycenaean" finger-rings. – **Pit 1** underneath the accumulation of burials in the south-eastern part of the chamber of **T. XXXV** is a further case in point. It was covered with stone slabs. Apart from the skeletal remains of five individuals the pit contained a rounded alabastron of LH III C Early (BÄCHLE 2003, fig. 18: cat. no. 112), three fibulae with leaf-shaped bow decorated with dot repoussé, seven finger-rings made of hammered bronze bands with flat section or with midrib, two hair-rings, one spiral ring, one glass bead and one spindle-whorl.

There is evidence from other sites, too, that finger-rings made of hammered bronze bands, finger-rings with antithetic spiral terminals, shield rings decorated with dot repoussé, and spiral hair-rings occasionally appeared in LH III C Late.[18] However, for Elateia a note of caution is advocated by contexts such as the contents of **Pit H** in tomb **T. LXII**. This was the largest of the ten pits of the tomb. It contained skeletal remains of 21 individuals (19 interments and two cremations), and it abounded in burial vases, bronzes and valuable objects.[19] Apart from objects datable to the palace period and to LH III C,[20] the burial gifts included many finger-rings

[16] 2 violin-bow shaped fibulae with twisted bow; 1 leaf-shaped bow fibula decorated with dot repoussé and incisions; 2 small knives (LH III); 1 spearhead (SH III A); 1 bronze disc. – For an italic dagger and the chronological problems involved with it see Dakoronia in DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 151 n. 36.

[17] DAKORONIA, as n. 6.

[18] A shield ring dated to LH III C Late was found at Kalapodi (FELSCH 1981, 87 fig. 10:15). Finger-rings with four antithetic spiral terminals were found in Central Greece before the Submycenaean period (DAKORONIA 1996, 1171). – Florian Ruppenstein has kindly drawn my attention to the recent finds of two finger-rings made of hammered bronze bands and with open ends in contexts of LH III C Advanced/Late at Tiryns (RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 210 n. 891).

[19] DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 142–145.

[20] Of the numerous finds from Pit H we mention a ring-askos of LH III C Advanced with a small bird figurine applied to it; 4 fibulae of the violin-bow type with twisted bow; 1 fibula with a leaf-shaped bow; 1 fibula with an

made of narrow bronze bands with open or overlapping terminals, a shield ring decorated with embossed dot patterns, and a hair-ring. The chronology of the vases starts from LH III A2, but most vases are LH III C Middle and LH III C Middle/Advanced to Late (for a few examples see Fig. 3:2–4; for two amphoriskoi and one stirrup jar datable to LH III C Middle/Advanced see BÄCHLE 2003, cat. nos. 206–208). However, the amphoriskos LXII/34κε (Fig. 3:6) and the stirrup jar LXII/κγ (Fig. 3:5) exhibit the stylistic features of LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean pottery. The fact that vases of LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean were deposited both on the floor and in the pits of T. LXII repeats itself in other tombs of Elateia (DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002). Obviously the time difference between the burials in the pits and those on the floors was not long, due probably to a rise in burial frequency during that period (see below 1.2.3).

Under these premises the matter cannot be settled before the analysis of all burial contexts from Elateia-Alonaki is completed. At any rate, during the LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean phase the rings mentioned above were all well established and, indeed, richly represented among the burial gifts deposited in the tombs of the cemetery. In contrast to the rings, there is no doubt that the long dress-pins first appeared *after* the end of LH III C Late, i.e. in LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean.

1.2.3. Burial customs

We have already pointed out that during a span of time which we have defined as LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean corpses were deposited one above another in an extremely contracted position. This new practice was in contrast to the local tradition according to which the deceased were deposited outstretched with slightly contracted legs. – Cremation, too, occurred at Elateia during the same span of time. However, as has been elaborated elsewhere (DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002), it seems to have been already practised – and probably was introduced – at Elateia in LH III C Late, and it continued to be performed during the PG period. Although the number of cremations at Elateia was marginal (less than 2% of the burials), it is nevertheless worth mentioning that most cremations were deposited during the LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean span of time.

The question arises why it was just during the final phase LH III C Late and/or in Early Submycenaean that a change in the burial habits took place. Elsewhere we have connected this phenomenon with the fact that during that period the numbers of burials in the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery reached a pinnacle. Even pits in the chamber floors were used for primary burials. Moreover, vases of LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean were deposited both on the floor and in the pits of tombs such as T. LXII (see above). Therefore the conclusion suggests itself that at the end of LH III C and during the first phase of the Submycenaean period a growth of population took place at Elateia (see DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002). However, it should be kept in mind that the increase in burials did not extend to all tombs of the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery. A good case in point is T. XLIX where the first Submycenaean phase was apparently not represented (see below, chapter 2).

However, the custom of burying dead bodies in an extremely contracted position seems to have been short-lived at Elateia. The evidence of tombs such as T. XXIV, T. XXXV and T. XLIX suggests that the dead bodies were again deposited in the traditional way before the subsequent second Submycenaean phase came to a close (see below, 2.2.3).

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asymmetrical bow; two gold finger-rings; two pairs of tweezers; lots of beads of semi-precious stones, glass and amber. A Psi-type figurine has been published by E. ALRAM-STERN 1999, 216.

2. THE SECOND SUBMYCENAEAN PHASE

2.1. The evidence

Tomb T. XXVI was abandoned during or at the end of the LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean phase. T. LXII may have contained burials of the subsequent stages of development,[21] but no such burial could be identified during the excavation. Therefore we have to turn to tombs where the next stage of development was represented. Very good examples are provided by the burials of tombs T. XXXV and T. XXIV. – Moreover, the last interments of T. XLIX give evidence to the close of Submycenaean period at Elateia.

T. XXXV/88[22]

Size and design of this tomb corresponded to the average "canonical" Mycenaean chamber-tombs at Elateia. The dromos was 4 m long, leading to the stomion at an angle, and two pits (or rather 'pit-and-niches')[23] were cut in the floor. The shape of the chamber was almost square except for the curved northern wall which at some time was extended, apparently to make room for a further 'pit-and-niche' (Fig. 4). Moreover, three ordinary pits were cut in the floor of the chamber. The number of individuals buried in T. XXXV amounts to 62.

On the floor of the chamber the remains of 24 interments were found, most of them in the south-western quarter and in the south-eastern corner. In the **south-eastern corner** the remains of nine individuals had been accumulated on the floor. Pottery connected with the skeletal remains consisted of a LH III B–III C Early amphoriskos FS 59 (BÄCHLE 2003, fig. 7: cat. no. 111; our Fig. 4[plan]:16c), of a small LH III C Late (or LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean) amphoriskos (Fig. 4[plan]:16e) and of the greater part of the Submycenaean lekythos XXXV/16d (Fig. 4:1). Metal finds included a few finger-rings of hammered bronze bands with open or overlapping terminals, and a shield-ring decorated with embossed dots. Two spindle-whorls, too, were connected with this burial group. – Underneath this accumulation there was **Pit 1.** It was covered by a stone slab so that the skeletal remains of five more individuals were separated from those deposited on the floor of the chamber. As already discussed above, p. 83, the latest possible date of the objects deposited in this pit is LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean, but LH III C Late cannot be excluded either.

In the **south-western** quarter of the chamber the burial remains of twelve individuals had been deposited on top of the skeleton of a woman (aged 40–60 years) which was still found *in situ*. It is difficult to ascertain which burial gifts may have belonged to this particular burial.[24] Altogether the objects connected with the accumulation of bones in the SW part of the tomb comprised five Submycenaean finger-rings as discussed above 1.2.2, a violin-bow shaped fibula with twisted bow, a spindle-whorl and four vases. Three of these can be dated to LH III C Middle/Advanced, to LH III C Late and to LH III C Late/Early Submycenaean while the amphoriskos XXXV/16i_2 with vertical handles on its sloping shoulder (Fig. 4:2) is typical of the local Submycenaean pottery (see below, pp. 95–96). – Underneath these remains of 13 burials in the south-western part of the chamber **Pit 3** was dug in the floor. Like Pit 1 in the south-eastern corner it contained the bone remains of five individuals. However, in contrast to the other pits of T. XXXV, Pit 3 was not covered. Therefore it is difficult to separate the burial gifts found in

[21] As already mentioned, the lekythos LXII/24η (Fig. 2:2) should be dated to the mature Submycenaean phase, and fragments of PG vessels were found in the debris of the tomb. However, no burial could be connected with these objects. It should be remembered that T. LXII was thoroughly disturbed by the re-use in the Roman period and collapsed later on.

[22] Excavation team: E. Alram-Stern (field-director), P. Hiptmair, A. Weiß(-Bächle). For a plan of the tomb see *ArchDelt* 43, 1988 [1993], 231 fig. 15.

[23] On this kind of recipients for secondary burials see DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, n. 2.

[24] The discussion of this point must be left to the final publication of T. XXXV.

the pit from those of the floor deposit. In the lower part and on the bottom of Pit 3 there were objects of predominantly Mycenaean character (two seal-stones, two spindle-whorls, one glass bead). In the upper part and around the edge of the pit six bronze finger-rings of Submycenaean types were found. Moreover, the only ceramic finds from Pit 3 consisted of several fragments of the Submycenaean amphoriskos XXXV/16i_2 mentioned above (Fig. 4:2), and fragments of the Submycenaean lekythos XXXV/16d (Fig. 4:1) from the south-eastern corner of the chamber.

It is therefore clear that the time difference between the burials in Pit 3 and the floor deposits in the south-eastern and south-western part of the chamber cannot have been long. The chronologically latest vases (amphoriskos 16i_2 and lekythos 16d) display features of the fully developed Submycenaean pottery phase (see below, section 2.2.1.3). From that it follows that among both accumulations of skeletons in the south-eastern and south-western part of T. XXXV there were the remains of individuals who had all been buried during this phase of the Submycenaean period. Moreover, the fact that the fragments of both vases were found scattered among the accumulations in the south-western and in the south-eastern part of the tomb suggests that the respective burials had been removed from their original location. Somewhat earlier a stirrup jar and a lekythos had met a similar fate: Their sherds and flakes scattered all over the floor of the chamber and in Pits 1, 2, 3 are so badly corroded that a classification is rendered impossible. However, a Submycenaean date of the lekythos appears probable on account of the modelling of the neck and rim. Clearly the removal of all these burial remains served the purpose of making room for subsequent interments.

Pit 2 near the western wall of the chamber contained parts of four skeletons, together with two finger-rings of bronze bands with overlapping terminals and flat profile, one spindle-whorl, and sherds of the eroded stirrup jar and lekythos mentioned above. Moreover, there were two fragments of handmade pottery. – **Pit 4** (= the 'pit-and-niche' mentioned earlier) contained the very decayed remains of a man and a woman. It cannot be excluded that they were primary burials. However, due to the lack of burial gifts they cannot be dated.

As for burial habits, the evidence of the woman's skeleton found *in situ* in the south-western corner suggests that in T. XXXV the dead bodies had originally been buried in the same tightly contracted fashion as the burials in tomb T. XXVI and in the north-western part of T. LXII.[25]

The last interments of T. XXXV were found *in situ* in the central part of the chamber (Fig. 4). They were the remains of a woman and a child. The bones were not well preserved, but there were enough to suggest that the woman had been laid down in the traditional position with outstretched body and contracted legs. At both sides of her body there was a long dress-pin with globular head (Fig. 4:4), and several of the nine finger-rings were still found on the bones of her hands. Some of these rings belonged to the types discussed earlier (see above, 1.2.2), including a bronze shield-ring decorated with dot repoussé. Moreover, there was a new type of broad and thick cast rings with triangular section which in the Kerameikos graves, too, appeared as a Submycenaean novelty (RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 210). The only ceramic burial gift was a small handmade jug (Figs. 4:3; 15:6). Doubtless a burial assemblage of this kind can no longer be classified as LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean. It belonged to the fully developed Submycenaean period.

The overall chronology of T. XXXV is of considerable interest. There is some evidence that the history of the tomb commenced during the palace period, perhaps as early as in LH III A (WEISS 1993, 41–45; 108–109). However, except for three vases dated by A. Bächle to LH III B–LH III C Early[26] the chamber contained no vessels datable to anything earlier than

[25] Information kindly provided by Dr. S. Fabrizii-Reuer.

[26] BÄCHLE 2003, 94–94 and cat. nos. 111–113 (the amphoriskos cat. no. 111 and the rounded alabastron FS 86 cat. no. 112 have been mentioned above).

LH III C Late.[27] Even stirrup jars, most typical Mycenaean burial gifts, are almost absent, except for the heavily corroded sherds mentioned above. In contrast, the small finds included a fair number of Mycenaean objects: beads made of glass, steatite, semi-precious stones and gold, spindle whorls, tweezers and two seal-stones (DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – SAKELLARIOU 1996, nos. 53, 54). A similar picture is presented by the finds from the dromos fill (WEISS 1993, 41–47; 149–150). Open shapes datable to LH III C Late and Submycenaean prevailed, but there were several fragments of LH III A–B and LH III C Middle vases, too. Moreover, fragments of a ring-askos (a typical LH III C burial vase which normally does not figure among the pottery found in dromos fills) make it obvious that T. XXXV must have been cleared of earlier burials several times.[28] – The observation that a major clearance must have taken place during the second phase of the local Submycenaean development is pertinent to the context of the present paper. As we have pointed out earlier, the remains of 22 burials in the south-eastern and in the south-western corners were all accumulated at the same time because fragments of the Submycenaean vases XXXV/16i_2 and 16d were distributed to both locations. The remains of five burials from Pit 3, as well as of four burials from Pit 2 (handmade pottery!) and of two burials from Pit 4 may be added. In short, between LH III C Late and the fully developed Submycenaean phase no less than 33 burials were deposited in the chamber of T. XXXV. They were all pushed aside when the last two burials were laid down in the centre of the chamber.[29]

T. XXIV/88[30]

This was another tomb of average size. The wall of the chamber was curved, except for the southern part at both sides of the stomion where it was straight (Fig. 5; for the plan of the entire tomb see DEGER-JALKOTZY – DAKORONIA 1991, pl. 1). Four pits were cut in the floor of the chamber, and two 'pit-and-niches' (for this type of recipients see DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, 129 n. 1) were situated near the stomion on both sides of the dromos. The tomb contained the remains of at least 66 individuals.

On the floor of T. XXIV there were the remains of 21 skeletons. In the **south-western** part of the chamber six individuals had been buried. Two of those had remained *in situ:* **Burial 1,** a young woman was found near the western wall (Fig. 5:[plan] with skull 18e). Although the bones were not preserved in a good condition, it was discernible that the corpse had been deposited in a stretched position with slightly contracted legs.[31] The same appeared to have been true of the neighbouring **Burial 2**, of another woman situated towards the centre of the chamber (Fig. 5, plan with skull 18g).

The burial gifts of **Burial 1** included a pair of dress-pins with globular head (Fig. 5:18d). In contrast to the last burial of T. XXXV they were not found on both sides of the skeleton but deposited together near the bones. They were short, and the globular heads were made separately from the pin.[32] – Apart from the two dress-pins there were a bone pin and a massive broad, cast bronze finger-ring with triangular section (Fig. 5[plan]:19h). Two vases found in the front part of the chamber also seem to have belonged to this burial, namely the handmade jar

[27] There was but one fragment of a LH III A2–B closed vase.

[28] Pottery found in the two dromos 'pit-and-niches' (together with the remains of 22 individuals) was confined to a LH III B2–III C alabastron (BÄCHLE 2003, cat. no. 113), and a small monochrome jug of later date.

[29] Pit 1 in the south-eastern part of the chamber and the two dromos 'pit-and-niches' contained the remains of altogether 27 burials. They may have been moved to these locations a little earlier, in LH III C Late or during the first Submycenaean phase (LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean), because they did not contain any pottery and no bronze objects datable to the second Submycenaean phase.

[30] Excavation team: E. Alram-Stern (field-director), P. Hiptmair.

[31] Information kindly provided by Dr. S. Fabrizii-Reuer, see n. 4.

[32] Information kindly provided by Dr. Ph. Dakoronia.

XXIV/18b (Figs. 5; 15:1) and the amphoriskos XXIV/18c (Fig. 5). – The burial gifts of **Burial 2** consisted of a massive broad, cast bronze ring with triangular section (Fig. 5[plan]:19d) and a fragment of sheet iron (Fig. 5[plan]:19g).

In the **north-western** part of the chamber the burials of a woman and a child were found *in situ* (Fig. 5: **Burial 3**). The interments were accompanied by a small handmade jug with incised and white incrusted decoration (Fig. 5:XXIV/18i). The finger-ring XXIV/20d (Fig. 5[plan]), too, may have belonged to this burial. Like the rings 19d and 19h of Burials 1 and 2 it was a massive cast bronze ring with triangular section. Due to the advanced decay of the skeletal remains it is not possible to reconstruct the position of the corpses.

Like the last burial in T. XXXV, Burials 1, 2, 3 of T. XXIV have to be assigned to the Submycenaean period on account of the handmade vase, the finger-rings and the dress-pins. Moreover a small arched fibula with twisted bow (Fig. 5:20ag) was found in the earth between the burials. A Submycenaean date is further suggested by the stylistic features of the amphoriskos XXIV/18c (see section 2.2.1.2).

In contrast, two vases found isolated on the floor behind the entrance of the chamber (Fig. 6) were of earlier date. The narrow-necked amphoriskos (or two-handled jar) XXIV/18h (Fig. 6) is LH III C Late. It has been restored from fragments which were partly found on the floor, partly in Pit 3 in the north-eastern part of the chamber. The same applies to the amphoriskos XXIV/18k (Figs. 6; 10:1) with vertical handles on the shoulder (on this type of amphoriskos see further below, pp. 95–96): Its body lay on the floor (Fig. 6), while the neck was found in Pit 3. It may be disputed whether XXIV/18k should be dated to LH III C Late or to Submycenaean. Personally I would assign it to LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean (see further below, p. 95), together with the (unpublished) small amphoriskos XXIV/23w which resembles the LH III C Late/Early Submycenaean amphoriskos of T.LXII/24θ illustrated in our Fig. 2:4. However, it has to be admitted that – with the exception of a hammered bronze ring with overlapping terminals – all objects found in Pit 3 were of no later date than LH III C Late.[33] In any case it is clear that XXIV/18h and XXIV/18k antedated the vases which were associated with Burials 1 and 2. Yet as mentioned above, the skeletal remains found in the south-western part of the chamber not only included those two burials *in situ* but the scattered bones of four more individuals, as well. It is suggested that the amphoriskoi XXIV/18h and XXIV/18k were originally associated to those earlier burials which were obviously disarranged in order to make room for Burials 1 and 2 (and presumably Burial 3, too). When the area was cleared the two vessels broke; their fragments were partly scattered on the floor like the skeletal remains, the rest was pushed into Pit 3.

Most of the **eastern** part of the chamber was covered with the skeletal remains of 13 burials, none of them in their original position. They had presumably been pushed aside before the interments of the western part of the chamber were deposited. Almost no burial gifts had been left to them, except for a ring made of a hammered bronze band with overlapping terminals, and a handle-less jar of a much earlier date (BÄCHLE 2003, 181 and fig. 13: cat. no. 57). It may be assumed that all other objects had been moved into the pits of the chamber and of the dromos. However, at the southern edge of the skeletal assemblage a handmade jar (Fig. 6: XXIV/18l) and another pair of pins with globular head (Fig. 6[plan]: XXIV/19e) were found. Like the pins of Burial 1 they lay side by side. The respective burial(s) had clearly been of Sub-

[33] Finds from **T. XXIV/Pit 3**: Skeletal remains of 15 individuals: Additionally to the above mentioned amphoriskos XXIV/23w there were seven more vases, dating from LH III A2–B (BÄCHLE 2003, cat. no. 61), LH III B (BÄCHLE 2003, cat. no. 59), LH III C Early (BÄCHLE 2003, cat. no. 60), LH III C Middle/Developed (BÄCHLE 2003, cat. no. 58, 62) and LH III C Middle/Advanced and Late (DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, figs. 4:1; 9:5). – Apart from pottery there were spindle-whorls, glass beads, three fibulae with leaf-shaped bow decorated with embossed dots, one silver ring, one cast shield-ring, one hammered bronze ring with overlapping ends.

mycenaean date and pushed aside to make room for the last three interments in the western part of the chamber.

It may be further mentioned that the earth above the three pits in the western part of the chamber not only contained the small arched fibula mentioned above but also two amber beads and a few glass beads. The latter are of considerable interest because they consisted of mixed alkali glass, a variant which is mainly found in certain parts of Europe and in Italy but which is not attested for the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean.[34] However, in contrast to the fibula the chronology of the beads is uncertain. These very small objects could have been easily lost when earlier burials were removed from the floor of the chamber.

T. XLIX/89[35]

Neither the pottery found in the chamber of T. XLIX (Figs. 7, 8) nor the diagnostic pottery fragments found in the dromos fill suggest a date earlier than LH III C so that the tomb may well have been dug during that period. It contained no pits. The last interment on the floor of the chamber, a woman,[36] was deposited on the floor near the eastern wall. At each side of the skull a hair-ring was found. Moreover, the corpse had been adorned with a broad cast bronze finger-ring. The assemblage further included an iron dress-pin with a globular bronze head, and fragments of a second iron pin with square section – possibly the shaft of a second pin with globular head.[37] According to the general opinion such dress-pins are indicative of an EPG date. Vases connected with this burial consisted of the two handmade vessels XLIX/20c (Figs. 7; 15:4) and XLIX/20d (Figs. 7; 15:3), as well as of the amphoriskos XLIX/20e with vertical handles from neck to shoulder (Figs. 7; 13:3).[38] Despite its apparent Mycenaean pedigree this vase anticipates the features of what may be called a Central Greek EIA pottery style. This interment will be discussed further below (chapter 3).

Earlier interments were found in the south-western part of the tomb where seven skeletons were preserved nearly complete. (Several more bones did not belong to this group. For these see further below). The burial gifts connected with this group consisted of three vases and a considerable number of small finds.[39] Of the vases two stirrup jars (Fig. 8:1,2) may be dated to LH III C Middle/Advanced (DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, 130, 141). The monochrome ring vase XLIX/16j (Fig.8:3) has a parallel from Perati (IAKOVIDIS 1969/70, Vol. III, pl. 54α:511) which in the chronological chart of IAKOVIDIS 2003, fig. 1:32 appears among the vases assigned to LH III C Middle. P. A. MOUNTJOY, however, has dated ring vases FS 196 with a monochrome body to LH III C Late (*RMDP*, 439; 184–185 fig. 56, nos. 425, 426). This date may well apply to our completely monochrome vessel, too.

At some distance, in the north-western quarter of the tomb and out of any context with skeletal remains, the monochrome small jug XLIX/19b (Fig. 8:4) with a high handle was discovered. Presumably this small vessel had drifted away from the south-western group because it contained a glass bead. Its high-swung handle is an unusual feature even at Elateia where small jugs FS 115 abounded.[40] It may well have been borrowed from the trefoil-mouthed jug FS 138

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[34] I am grateful to Dr. Georg Nightingale for this information. The glass beads will be published by K. Nikita, J. Henderson and G. Nightingale.

[35] Excavation team: E. Alram-Stern (field-director), A. Weiß(-Bächle).

[36] The anthropological data were kindly provided by Dr. Susanne Fabrizii-Reuer.

[37] These objects are being studied by Dr. Phanouria Dakoronia.

[38] A photograph of all burial vases from T. XLIX is shown in DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, fig. 2.

[39] The small finds comprised many beads and pendants of steatite, beads of glass (NIGHTINGALE 1993, p. XVIII) and flourite, spindle whorls, one seal-stone (DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – SAKELLARIOU 1996, 54 no. 72), and several finger-rings of bronze band.

[40] There are only two other small jugs with high-swung handles (T. XXXI/18g and T. LXIV/5eta), both datable no earlier than to LH III C Late.

which mainly occurs in LH III C Late (*MDP*, 188. – RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 164).[41] For our vase the same date is further advocated by its short wide neck that smoothly merges into a sloping shoulder, and by its slightly ovoid body.

At the edge of the burial cluster in the south-western part of the chamber or rather adjacent to it, the belly-handled amphoriskos XLIX/16o (Fig. 8:5) and the handmade jug XLIX/16n (Figs. 8:6; 15:7) were found. These two vessels cannot be called Mycenaean. In the first place, handmade pots were not a feature of LH III C burials at Elateia. They first occurred in true Submycenaean contexts. Secondly, the amphoriskos XLIX/16o displays the features of Submycenaean wheel-made vases (see below, chapter 2.2.1). Therefore it is clear that these two vases have to be separated from the LH III C Middle/Advanced and Late burial gifts deposited in the south-western quarter of the chamber.

It has been mentioned above that not all bones found in the south-western part of the chamber belonged to the seven complete skeletons. In fact, they were part of a woman's skeleton the rest of which was found near the **northern** wall of the chamber, together with two massive cast finger-rings and a long dress-pin of bronze with a broad roll-topped head (Fig.7[plan]: 21a,c,d). A shield-ring found in the general area, too, may well have belonged to this burial. Apparently the interment had been first deposited at this location. Later on the skeleton was disturbed and partly removed to the south-western quarter of the chamber. The two finger-rings and the dress-pin which had remained with the bones at the northern wall suggest a Submycenaean date of the burial. This date agrees well with the two vases XLIX/16n and 16o. It may be imagined that the two vases, too, had once belonged to the Submycenaean burial near the northern wall. When the burial was disturbed they were removed to the southern part of the chamber together with parts of the skeleton. The metal objects, however, remained with the rest of the skeleton at the original location of the burial near the northern wall.

If this conjecture is correct, the following chronology of the burials of T. XLIX is suggested. The earliest burials are represented by the accumulation of seven almost complete skeletons in the south-western part of the chamber. If these burials had been moved to this location from elsewhere, their remains must have all been collected and removed with the greatest care, because it is only in this area that Mycenaean vases and small objects were found. On the other hand there is no anthropological evidence that they had been buried in the extremely contracted position as described with regard of tombs T. XXVI and T. LXII. The pottery connected with these seven interments can be dated to LH III C Middle/Advanced and Late. – During the second Submycenaean phase a woman was buried near the central part of the northern wall of the chamber. Later on this burial was disturbed. Only the metal objects and parts of the skeleton remained at the original position while other parts of the skeleton, together possibly with the amphoriskos XLIX/16o and the handmade jug XLIX/16n were moved to the edge of the burial group in the south-western part of the chamber. The transfer must have taken place before or at the time when the last burial – found *in situ* in the eastern part of the chamber – was deposited.

On the basis of the metal objects and vases the chronology of the last burial was subsequent to the Submycenaean period: The question whether it represented a stage of development which was transitional from Submycenaean to EPG or which already represented the EPG period at Elateia will be discussed in chapter 3.

It is remarkable that burials of the first Submycenaean phase ("LH III C Final/ Early Submycenaean") were apparently absent from T. XLIX.

[41] I owe this suggestion to Dr. Florian Ruppenstein.

2.2 Discussion

It is clear that several new elements were introduced during the second post-Mycenaean phase at Elateia which by general scholarly consent are considered as characteristic of the fully developed Submycenaean period and culture. Most conspicuous among these elements are handmade vessels, pairs of long pins with globular head, and arched fibulae with plain or twisted bow. Therefore this phase of the cultural development at Elateia may be truly called a regional manifestation of the Submycenaean culture. In contrast, the previous phase had essentially remained Mycenaean in character even if significant cultural changes had taken place and the first Submycenaean elements had appeared.

2.2.1. Pottery

2.2.1.1 Handmade Pottery

The most conspicuous feature was the first appearance in the tombs at Elateia of *handmade vessels*. Neither the Mycenaean nor the "LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean" burial assemblages in the tombs of Elateia-Alonaki had included handmade pottery. Yet once handmade vessels had made their first appearance during the second Submycenaean phase they continued to serve as burial gifts until the end of the 9th century BC. The same development seems to have taken place in the region around Delphi.[42] At the coastal site of Kynos in East Locris, too, handmade burnished vases did not occur in layers of LH III C Middle and Late; they first appeared together with Submycenaean vases and remained in use during the Early Iron Age (DAKORONIA 2003, 47). In fact, some handmade jars from Kynos and from Elateia resemble each other in a remarkable way (compare DAKORONIA 2003, 44 figs. 12 and 13 to our Fig. 15:1,2). – In contrast, at the recently discovered site on the small island of Mitrou in the Gulf of Atalanti handmade pottery was already found associated with Mycenaean ceramics of LH III C Middle/Advanced and Late (RUTTER 2007, 293–294. – VAN DE MOORTEL this volume. – LIS this volume). This is even more remarkable as Mitrou is situated in close vicinity to Kynos where, as mentioned above, handmade pottery was absent from the contemporaneous levels. However, it certainly is too early to comment on the evidence from Mitrou before more material is known. Nevertheless, a fragment of a handmade container by its shape and finger-impressed plastic decoration (RUTTER 2007, fig. 5) bears a closer resemblance to the earlier LH III C "Handmade Burnished Ware" of the Peloponnese than to the undecorated handmade jars and jugs of the EIA.[43] Moreover, a deposit of handmade miniature vases from Building C may, indeed, "provide insight into less profane activities" of the inhabitants of Mitrou (LIS this volume; see also VAN DE MOORTEL this volume). – The evidence from the sanctuary at Kalapodi near Elateia, too, suggests that in Central Greece the deposit of handmade vases in LH III C may have been related to "non-profane" activities as B. Lis has put it (LIS this volume). The sanctuary was located on a pass between East Locris and the Kephissos valley. The pottery deposits included handmade pottery from LH III C Early onwards, and the range of

[42] The Mycenaean tombs at Medeon did not contain any handmade burnished vessels. Handmade vases first occurred in the well-known dromos-less chamber-tomb at Delphi (LERAT 1937) dated by Desborough to Submycenaean/Early Protogeometric (DESBOROUGH 1972, 203–205 and pls. 47, 48) and by Lemos to Early Protogeometric (LEMOS 2000, 11). – The so-called Dromos Tomb at Delphi, too, contained one small handmade jug of Submycenaean type with flat base (cf. PERDRIZET 1908, 11 fig. 14). Although the majority of the pottery found in this tomb is Mycenaean, the tomb may well have been used until the Submycenaean period, judging from two lekythoi illustrated by PERDRIZET 1908, figs. 34 and 36.

[43] Despite various attempts to establish a line of continuity between the "Handmade Burnished Pottery" of LH III C Early and Middle and the jars and jugs of the EIA, I still believe that they represented two unrelated historical and cultural phenomena. I intend to discuss this subject further in connection with the final publication of the LH III C Mycenaean and handmade pottery from Aigeira.

shapes was much wider than that of the EIA handmade repertoire from the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery (JACOB-FELSCH 1996, 75–78). It may be assumed that the dedication of handmade vessels was related to the character of the deity who was worshipped at Kalapodi, as well as to the cult practices of the worshippers who congregated at the sanctuary (FELSCH 1999). In any case, there can be no doubt that during the EIA handmade pottery played a more pronounced role in Central Greece than in Attica, in the Peloponnese and on the adjacent islands.

At Elateia 45 handmade pots were found in 26 tombs. Like 66–73 wheel-made vases coming from the same tombs they cover the span of time from Submycenaean to Middle Geometric. Thus the percentage of handmade vessels in these 26 tombs reaches at 30–40%. However, wheel-made vases dating from Submycenaean to Middle Geometric were found in at least 30 more tombs which did *not* contain any handmade pottery. Under these premises the overall percentage of handmade against wheel-made vases may drop to 25–23%. But even so the number of handmade vessels from Elateia exceeds that from any other EIA cemetery excavated so far in those regions of Greece which previously had been part of the Mycenaean civilisation.

At the present stage of our material study it is not possible to define what the percentage of handmade pottery was during the Submycenaean period in particular. However, the tombs mentioned in this article (T. XXIV, T. XXXV, T. XXIV) may well represent a correct picture. The earliest vase was most probably the two-handled jar T. XXIV/18l (Figs. 6; 15:2). Its pronounced thick, flat base is a common feature of Submycenaean and EPG handmade vessels. However, the clumsy appearance of T. XXIV/18l is reminiscent of the shortcomings of LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean wheel-made vases: The shape is baggy, and the quality of clay and firing is poor. Moreover, the burnishing of the surface is slovenly and appears as an equivalent to the careless painting of wheel-made vases. T. XXIV/18l is the only handmade vase at Elateia with vertical handles from rim to shoulder. The majority of handmade amphoriskoi from Elateia had vertical handles from neck to shoulder. This type did not vary much in the course of the EIA except that PG specimens were frequently of larger size (the jar T. XLIX/20c [Figs. 7; 15:4] e.g. has a height of 0.30 m). Moreover, handmade vases of the Protogeometric period were generally better shaped and the burnishing was more careful. They often had a rounded bottom.[44]

Throughout the EIA the range of handmade shapes at Elateia was more or less confined to the one-handled jug and the two-handled jar or amphora mostly of the neck-handled type. A very interesting development is mirrored by the handmade versions of Submycenaean wheel-made amphoriskoi. A few handmade belly-handled amphoriskoi obviously imitated wheel-made specimens such as T. XXIV/18c (Fig. 5) and T XLIX/16o (Fig. 8:5). As far as they were found in reliable contexts, the belly-handled handmade amphoriskoi were confined to the second local Submycenaean phase. Moreover, one handmade amphoriskos found in T. XLV/89 (unpublished) appears as an imitation of the typical local Submycenaean wheel-made amphoriskos with vertical handles on the shoulder (on this type see further below).[45] In contrast, the handmade jar T. XXIV/18b (Figs. 5; 15:1) possibly reflects a more advanced stage of the development. According to the metal finds (for pairs of pins with global heads see above, pp. 87, 88) this vase was contemporaneous with the jar T. XXIV/18l as described above. However, T. XXIV/18b not only was better shaped than the other vessel and far better burnished: This vase also resembles wheel-made amphoriskoi – or rather small amphorae – such as T. XLIX/20e and T. LVII/5x which represent a further development of the local EIA style

[44] Our observations at Elateia are supported by the date of a handmade, albeit not burnished jar from Kalapodi which apparently had a rounded bottom (JACOB-FELSCH 1996, 77 and pl. 45:424). The vessel was found in stratum 18 assigned to the beginning of Early Protogeometric.

[45] A Submycenaean handmade amphoriskos from the Kerameikos, too, is an imitation of the same type (RUPPENSTEIN 2007, pl. 21: Grab 120/2).

(cf. Figs. 5; 15:1 and Fig. 13:3,4. – See also further below, p. 97).[46] The interplay between wheel-made and handmade pottery shapes was continued throughout the EIA. In fact, during the Protogeometric period handmade versions even of the large wheel-made amphorae of at least 0.50 m height were produced.[47]

One-handled pots of the Submycenaean period should be called "jugs" rather than "cooking-pots" because their rim is slightly slanting (Figs. 4:XXXV/15a; 5:XXIV/18i; 15:5,6) and the lip is moulded into a spout (Figs. 4:XXXV/15a; 8:XLIX/16n; 15:6,7). These jugs most probably served for heating and pouring liquids. In contrast, PG one-handled vases had a level rim. Some of them were quite large (Fig. 15:8,9). They may well have been cooking vessels.

Only eight out of the 45 handmade vessels found so far at Elateia were of shapes other than jug and two-handled jar. Among these the handmade pyxis represented by five specimens had the lion's share.[48] One of them, the small globular pyxis T. LXX/19a (unpublished), belongs to the so-called "Attic Dark Age Incised Ware" from the Kerameikos and elsewhere (BOUZEK 1974).[49] Its incised decoration recurs on the small jug T. XXIV/18i from Burial 3 of tomb T. XXIV which has been mentioned earlier (Fig. 5): Two horizontal lines are incised around the basis of the neck,[50] and the shoulder carries one or two parallel zig-zag incisions. The incisions are enhanced by white incrustation.

All four incised handmade vases found so far at Elateia carry this same decoration. Thus it is likely that they were of the same origin. To the eye their fabric is different from that of the local handmade vessels, but this point must be clarified by chemical analysis. In any case, these four vases constitute a very small group. Therefore – even if it turns out that they were made at Elateia – it is not advisable to claim that handmade incised vases were typical of the repertoire of Ancient Phokis. F. Ruppenstein may well be right that a wider horizon of Northern Greece and of the Balkans in general should be taken into consideration (RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 178–180).

The chronology of the four incised handmade vases from Elateia is indicated by the small jug T. XXIV/18i which belonged to the second phase, i.e. the fully developed Submycenaean period in the region. The same date applies to a belly-handled amphoriskos from tomb T. XLV. The pyxis T. LXX/19a was found in tomb T. LXX together with a juglet which can be assigned to the second Submycenaean phase or even to the incipient EPG period. The fourth incised vase, a kantharoid jar, was not found in a datable context.

Summing up, it is clear that handmade pottery at Elateia was established in the local ceramic repertoire and production from the second Submycenaean phase onwards. Moreover, in view of the handmade pottery from Kynos and Kalapodi it may be suggested that Central Greece, indeed, may be viewed as the origin of the (few) handmade jugs and jars found in Submycenaean graves of the Kerameikos and of other south-eastern regions (for a recent discussion cf. RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 169–183). – The incised ware with white incrustations, however, seems to have been a different matter.

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[46] As a matter of fact, Burial 1 of T. XXIV (to which the handmade jar XXIV/18b had belonged) may be viewed as one of the last, if not *the* last burial of this tomb. Therefore it is possible that this handmade vase was indeed modelled after the more advanced types of amphoriskoi resp. small amphorae of the period.

[47] Large handmade amphorae were found in tombs T. XLIII, T. XLIV, T. LXIII.

[48] The remaining three vases were a deep globular bowl and two kantharos-like closed jars. – A further closed vessel of foreign shape was probably of northern origin. In the present context it would lead too far to discuss this vase, too.

[49] This vase bears some resemblance to the well-known pyxis P 14873 from the Athenian Agora (BOUZEK 1974, fig. 1:1; pl. II:4), except that it is not fluted. However, the parallel zig-zag incisions are similar.

[50] In the case of T. XXIV/18i the two horizontal lines enclose a "necklace" of imprinted dots.

2.2.1.2 Wheelmade pottery

The pottery of the second post-Mycenaean phase at Elateia no longer represented an uninspired continuation of the Mycenaean repertoire. It is of course true that at least until the Protogeometric period the local pottery style was marked by its Mycenaean heritage and with reluctance accepted the fashions of the time. On the other hand a new spirit expressed itself in the way vases were shaped and structured, and a few well made pieces testify to the fact that the treatment of clay and the firing of vessels gradually improved (cf. Figs. 9:4,6,7; 12:4; 14:4). Moreover, the size of vases increased. These achievements not only foreshadowed the further development of the regional pottery production but eventually also led to the ability of making the large-size amphorae and oinochoae of the Protogeometric period (DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, 199–201).

The belly-handled amphoriskoi T. XXIV/18c and T. XLIX/16o presented in this article may serve as examples. – T. XXIV/18c (Fig. 5) clearly derives from amphoriskoi of the previous LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean phase such as T. LXII/34κε (Fig. 3:6). The shape itself, as well as the thick wide wavy line between the handles has a Mycenaean pedigree. However, the fabric is poor, the firing bad, and the flaky red paint comes off easily. The largest diameter and the horizontal handles are set very low down the body. Nevertheless, a possible extremely baggy appearance of the vase is successfully counterbalanced by its wide and tall neck and flaring rim and the softly curving profile. Moreover, the vase is taller than the amphoriskoi of the previous phase: It has been preserved to a height of 0.18 m. The base may well have been slightly raised like that of T. XLIX/16o (Fig. 8:5). That vase has a slightly concave, tall and wide neck which rises in a soft continuous line from the sloping shoulder and the slightly depressed globular body. The horizontal handles are set at the largest diameter of the vase at about the lower third of its height. The decoration derives from that of LH III C Advanced and Late monochrome vessels with reserved body zones. With a height of 0.21 m this amphoriskos surpasses the general size of vessels of the previous phase. – Clearly such vases are marked by characteristic Submycenaean features as described by DESBOROUGH 1979/80, 307–308 and RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 58–73. By the same token, and despite their technical shortcomings, they may be viewed as the starting point of a local EIA pottery style which was to reach its peak in the course of the PG period.

The decorative system of Submycenaean vases from Elateia was unassuming. Light-ground vases adhered to the Mycenaean tradition of linear decoration. In fact, even the local LH III C Advanced and Late fashion of covering the lower part or the entire surface of a vessel with evenly spaced stripes (DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, 138–141) was retained by Submycenaean lekythoi, amphoriskoi and stirrup jars (e.g. Fig. 2:3). It was even continued by several amphoriskoi of the local EPG style (Fig. 13:1,3). – Dark-ground vessels were frequent and adhered to a very conservative decorative system: Depending on the shape they were either painted all over or they displayed reserved zones on the neck, shoulder and lower part of the body (cf. Figs. 4:2; 9; 10; 11). – Patterned decoration was more or less confined to wavy or to zig-zag lines which were, of course, a Mycenaean heritage. The same is true of stacked and fringed arcs and triangles (cf. Fig. 9:4,8), and of simple intertriglyph combinations (cf. Figs. 4:1; 9:4,6). However, other motifs were borrowed from the Submycenaean repertoire of Attica: This applies to the oblique wavy-band on the amphoriskos of Fig. 12:4 (cf. KRAIKER – KÜBLER 1939, pl. 16:inv.no. 460. – RUPPENSTEIN 2007, fig. 10:136/2,136/5), as well as to the evenly spaced tight vertical wavy-lines on the shoulders of lekythoi (= RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 50: "Stilgruppe 2". – For specimens from Elateia see Fig. 9:5,7 and DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, fig. 4).

In contrast to the pottery production of other regions such as Attica or the Argolid, the modelling of feet and bases is of no chronological significance to Submycenaean vases from Elateia. More often than not the bases are flat or ringed. Raised straight or slightly conical feet are not higher than those of LH III C Late vases. High conical feet are very rare. The same applies to Protogeometric vases, too.

2.2.1.3 Appendix: Submycenaean lekythoi and amphoriskoi at Elateia

As already mentioned above in section *1.2.1*, the range of shapes in the Submycenaean wheel-made pottery repertoire of Elateia was limited. Typical Mycenaean shapes such as ring-askos, alabastron and feeding bottle had disappeared. Stirrup jars, too, were few and more or less confined to the first (LH III C Final/Submycenaean) phase. Lekythos, amphoriskos and the small jug prevailed. [However, it must be remembered that we are dealing with vases deposited as burial gifts. The picture may well change – in particular with regard to open shapes – once the study of the pottery finds from the dromos fills is finished.]

The Submycenaean lekythoi and the amphoriskoi from Elateia deserve special attention. The *lekythos* made its first appearance during LH III C Middle/Advanced (DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, figs. 5:4; 8:1) and increased in popularity during LH III C Late. During the Submycenaean period it reached its peak.[51] In contrast to the light-ground decoration of most LH III C lekythoi, the majority of Submycenaean lekythoi are painted dark-ground (Fig. 9). One of the few exceptions is T. XXXV/16d (Fig: 4:1): Both the banding of the body and the patterns of the shoulder-decoration of this vase are a LH III C inheritance, but the shape is purely Submycenaean. In fact, the vase was found under circumstances which even suggest that it was deposited during the second phase of the Submycenaean period at Elateia (see above, p. 86). The decorative scheme, as well as the modelling of most dark-ground lekythoi, too, harks back to LH III C as has already been observed on occasion of the two lekythoi from T. XXVI (see above, 1.2.1). However, some lekythoi clearly carry the hallmarks of Attic Submycenaean lekythoi and may even have been imports. The two examples illustrated in Fig. 9 correspond to F. Ruppenstein's Groups 2 (Fig. 9:5) and 3 (Fig. 9:7. – RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 47–58). Therefore it is clear that at Elateia dark-ground lekythoi were popular not only during LH III C Late and during the LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean phase of Elateia, but during the second phase, too. The lekythos T. LXII/24η (Figs. 2:2; 9:9) was probably among the latest representatives of the shape at Elateia: By its perked-up appearance, by the almost complete coating of the body except for two narrow reserved zones, and particularly by the zig-zag decoration of the reserved band in the handle-zone this vase qualifies for assignment to the very end of the Submycenaean period, if not to the transition to EPG. – In view of the fact that lekythoi can be assigned to both Submycenaean phases at Elateia, it is remarkable that they were found in two tombs only (out of 17) which contained dress-pins with globular heads. In contrast, seven tombs (out of 19) contained lekythoi, as well as dress-pins with swellings on the upper part of the shaft. At the present state of study it is impossible to tell whether this observation has a chronological or a cultural significance. In any case, during the EPG period the shape was no longer present among the burial gifts at Elateia.

Submycenaean *amphoriskoi* of the belly-handled type FS 60 have already been treated in sections *1.2.1* (first Submycenaean phase) and *2.2.1.2* (second Submycenaean phase). In LH III C Late this type had become a rival of the shoulder-handled amphoriskos FS 59 which until then had been the most popular shape of LH III C Early and Middle (DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, 135–136.). However, during the Submycenaean period a further type made its appearance, namely the amphoriskos with vertical handles on the shoulder (Figs. 4:2; 10–12; 14). This type is of particular interest because it was well represented in EPG pottery assemblages of Phokis (Delphi: LERAT 1937, pl. 5:9,10), Chalkis and Lefkandi (LEMOS 2002, 63–64), and – less frequently – in Attica and in the Peloponnese, too. However, Submycenaean representatives of the shape were generally rare (LEMOS, *l.c.*). In contrast, the chamber tombs of Elateia-Alonaki yielded no less than 22 specimens so that it may be suggested that the origin of the shape should be sought in Central Greece. As has been discussed in connection with the finds from T. XXIV, the amphoriskos XXIV/18k (Figs. 6; 10:1) could have already been produced in

[51] LH III C Middle/Advanced to LH III C Late: 13 lekythoi; Submycenaean: 27 lekythoi.

LH III C Late (see above, p. 88), and the same applies to T. XXXVI/44k and perhaps to T. XX/A44 (Figs. 14:1,2; 12:1,2). At the other end of the chronological scale the find contexts and shaping of the small specimen T. LV/13st (Fig. 11:8) and of the larger and ovoid vessel T. XL/11n (Fig. 12:4) come close to the stylistic features of EPG pottery. Otherwise the majority of the amphoriskoi with vertical shoulder handles was of Submycenaean date. – As testified by the examples shown in Figs. 10–12, the shapes varied greatly between biconical, globular and ovoid. The modelling of bases and feet is of no chronological significance. – The fabric is mostly poor but there are some very good pieces, too (see e.g. Fig. 14:2,5,8). The same applies to the paint. Monochrome pieces prevail; they often have reserved zones on the lower body, an inheritance of the later phases of LH III C. Light-ground decoration, too, was derived from LH III C forerunners. It consisted of bands and of patterns such as tassel, scroll and wavy line. The oblique wavy line of T. XL/11n (Fig. 12:4) may have been borrowed from Attic prototypes (cf. KRAIKER – KÜBLER 1939, pl. 16:inv.no. 460. – RUPPENSTEIN 2007, fig. 10:136/2,136/5). – In contrast to Lefkandi and other regions, the amphoriskos with vertical handles on the shoulder was absent from the EPG repertoire of Elateia; it may have given way to the neck-handled amphoriskos (Fig. 13:1,2) and to those shapes which may be viewed as small scale forerunners of the large PG amphora (Fig. 13:3,4; see also further below).

2.2.2. Metal objects

In contrast to the previous phase, the metal finds of the second Submycenaean phase do not require special discussion; moreover, the material is being studied for publication by Dr. Phanouria Dakoronia. – Novelties of this phase consist of dress-pins with globular head, of massive cast finger-rings with midrib and triangular section, and of arched fibulae with twisted bow. Dress-pins were now deposited in pairs. This applies to other types, too, such as pins with rolled top or pins with swellings on the upper end of the shaft. It has to be pointed out, however, that both pairs of (short) dress-pins with globular head found in T. XXIV had been deposited side by side, while the two long pins of T. XXXV were found at both sides of the skeleton.

Apart from these novel elements, bronze adornments which had been introduced previously continued to be in use as burial gifts: Leaf-bow shaped fibulae, finger-rings made of hammered bronze bands, shield-rings, spiral rings, hair-rings, long pins with swellings on the upper part of the shaft etc. Bronze sheet objects often carry embossed dot decoration; pins with swollen heads were decorated with incisions and/or grooves.

All these objects were made of bronze. In T. XXIV a small fragment of sheet iron was found in connection with Burial 2 (see above, p. 88). Moreover, the last burial of T. XLIX was accompanied by an iron dress-pin with a globular head of bronze. Of a second pin only the fragments of an iron shaft had been preserved. However, as will be discussed below, the chronology of this burial was probably beyond the Submycenaean period.

Finally, it has to be pointed out that during both phases of the Submycenaean period the deposit of metal objects reached a peak. Individual skeletons had rings on every finger of both hands, and the numbers of dress-fasteners and personal adornment exceeds everything known so far about the transition from the LBA to the EIA. In fact, the surprising wealth of metal finds from the chamber tombs of Elateia-Alonaki was mainly owed to the burials of LH III C Late and to the Submycenaean period. However, as said above, it is for Phanouria Dakoronia to present the entire material.

2.2.3 Burial customs

This subject, too, does not require any further discussion. The evidence of tombs T. XXXV suggests that during the mature Submycenaean phase the deceased still may have been buried

in a tightly contracted position. However, the last burials of tombs T. XXIV and T. XXXV suggest that the earlier custom of depositing the corpses in an outstretched position with slightly contracted legs had been resumed before the Submycenaean period came to a close. Moreover, on the general evidence of the Elateia-Alonaki tombs it may be assumed that at or after the end of the period the numbers of burials declined. Cremations, too, were less frequent. In fact, several tombs such as T. XXIV and T. XXXV ceased to be used after the Submycenaean period.

3. THE SUBSEQUENT STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT.

In contrast to the evidence of tombs T. XXIV and T. XXXV, the last interment in T. XLIX took place during a further stage of development. First the iron dress-pins have to be mentioned. One was fragmentary, but the other one had a globular head of bronze threaded onto the shaft. Pins with an iron shaft and a globular bronze head were a phenomenon of the Protogeometric period. In fact, in the Peloponnese, Attica and Euboea they occurred from an advanced stage of PG onwards (KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984, 75–76). Irene Lemos has attributed the earliest pieces to MPG (LEMOS 2002, 106). However, the pottery found in connection with the iron pins of T. XLIX at Elateia cannot be classified as "advanced PG" or MPG. As has already been mentioned, the handmade vessels are not very different from the Submycenaean jars and jugs, except that they are better shaped and of larger size (Fig. 15:3,4). At first sight the wheel-made amphoriskos T. XLIX/20e (Fig. 13:3) seems to resemble the Submycenaean amphoriskos S 19.3 from Lefkandi (DESBOROUGH 1980, fig. 12 A). Indeed, as in the case of the vase from Lefkandi the decorative system and the neck-to-shoulder handles of T. XLIX/20e have a Mycenaean pedigree. However, the well-structured and balanced shaping of the vase from Elateia compares better to that of EPG amphoriskoi such as Lefkandi S 32.4 (DESBOROUGH 1980, pl. 101): It has a continuous profile from body to wide neck, and the largest diameter of the body does not exceed that of the everted rim with flat lip. Moreover, the loops circumscribed by the handles are elongated so that the overall appearance of the vessel is slim and perked-up. Tall amphoriskoi such as T. LVII/5x (Fig. 13:4) with dark-ground decoration and narrow reserved zones filled with tight zig-zag may be assigned to the same type. On account of the pins made of iron and bronze, and of the stylistic features exhibited by the amphoriskos T. XLIX/20e the last interment in T. XLIX could be dated to EPG. However, vases attributable in our opinion to EPG give the impression of a more advanced stylistic development, even if they still adhere either to the dark-ground or to the light-ground and banded decorative systems of the Mycenaean tradition (Fig. 13:1,2; DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, figs. 9; 10). Therefore we suggest that the last interment of T. XLIX and vases such as the amphoriskoi of our Fig. 13:3,4 were representative either of a transitional Submycenaean/EPG phase or of the very beginning of EPG at Elateia. This chronology implies that the appearance of iron pins with globes made of bronze may have been earlier in Central Greece than in the eastern parts of Greece and in the Peloponnese.

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Analysis of the funerary assemblages of the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery suggests that the span of time between LH III C Late and EPG was covered by three stages of development of which at least two should be assigned to the Submycenaean period.

The reasons why I believe that the first post-LH III C stage was an early phase of Submycenaean have been discussed in chapter 1.2 of this article. Even those who might cast doubt on this classification must acknowledge that this phase followed *after* LH III C Late. Therefore it should at least be called "LH III C Final" or "Final Mycenaean", although I prefer the term "LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean". – The problems of establishing the chronology of this

phase closely resembles of those connected with the final burials in the tombs of Western Achaia. Phase 6a of the chronological schema proposed by Ioannis Moschos is characterised as "Final Mycenaean" and, at the same time, as "Early Submycenaean" (see MOSCHOS this volume). It is perhaps no mere chance that a synchronism between Phase 6a of Western Achaia and the "LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean" phase of Elateia is suggested e.g. by the decorative system of our small stirrup-jar T. LXII/23ζ (Fig. 2:3; cf. MOSCHOS *l.c.*, where the vase is quoted after DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 144, fig. 6a). This would further imply that contacts between Central Greece and Achaia which had prevailed throughout the history of the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery (BÄCHLE 2003. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007) were continued beyond LH III C Late.

The second phase – represented in chapter 2 of this article – can be assigned with confidence to the Submycenaean period. This date is supported by bronze objects such as pairs of dress-pins (particularly pins with globular heads), arched fibulae, various kinds of finger-rings, and hair-rings. Moreover, lekythoi with vertical wavy bands on the shoulder (Fig. 9:5,7) establish a parallel with the pottery from the Submycenaean graves of the Kerameikos (cf. above, p. 95). Conversely, a few handmade pots (KRAIKER – KÜBLER 1939, 74. – RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 169–193) and two amphoriskoi with vertical handles on the shoulder (RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 161–163) may well have been derived from the pottery repertoire of Central Greek during the transition from the LBA to the EIA. – In contrast, the material presented so far from Achaia does not allow for correlations between the second Submycenaean phase at Elateia with Phase 6b of Western Achaia (MOSCHOS this volume). Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that they were synchronous or overlapping. However, certain elements in the pottery repertoire of Elateia suggest that the interregional relations of the inhabitants of the Upper Kephissos valley were directed towards the North[52] and to the East (for parallels with Athens see above). Northern connections are even more borne out by the bronze objects studied by Phanouria Dakoronia (see e.g. DAKORONIA 2004). In contrast, the long-standing relations with the regions south of the Corinthian Gulf may have declined, possibly in anticipation of a preference which the inhabitants of Elateia showed during the Protogeometric period for cultural and economic exchange with what Irene Lemos has defined as "the Euboean Koine" (LEMOS 2002, 212–216 and map 7).

This re-orientation definitely becomes apparent by the third stage of development which either represented a transitional phase from Submycenaean to EPG or the very beginning of EPG at Elateia. Despite its idiosyncrasies the pottery of this phase displays stylistic affinities to the pottery repertoires of Boeotia, Euboea and Thessaly (see chapter 3 on the vases of Fig. 13; DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999).

The relative length of the Submycenaean period has been the subject of many calculations. Opinions vary from a short "intermediate stage between the Late Mycenaean period and the following PG period" (LEMOS 2002, 7–8) to significantly longer spans of time (RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 269 attributes "not significantly less than 100 years" to the four stages of development including the transition to EPG). As for Elateia, the considerable increase in burials during the two Submycenaean phases may or may not have required a long span of time. It is true e.g. that 33 and 21 individuals respectively were buried in the chambers of tombs T. XXXV and T. XXIV during the LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean and the second Submycenaean phase, and several more instances have been adduced in DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002. However, in view of the slow stylistic development of the wheel-made pottery and its prolonged adherence to the Mycenaean tradition any calculation on the basis of the pottery evidence has to remain speculative. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to allocate two generations at least, i.e. 40–50 years for the two Submycenaean phases at Elateia. A useful

[52] See e.g. the handmade vases with incised decoration (above, p. 93).

indication may be gained from the lekythoi Fig. 9:5,7 because in Athens and Attica vertical wavy lines were more or less confined to lekythoi of the second phase of the Submycenaean period (RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 50). It may be hoped that Phanouria Dakoronia will be able to provide further data based on the typological development of the metal objects.

It cannot be excluded that the increase in burial numbers, combined with the change in burial habits and the use of cremation, may be ascribed to demographic developments rather than to an extended span of time. Elsewhere we have suggested that from the end of LH III C onwards a population increase took place which reached a peak during the Submycenaean period. Even pits in the chamber floors were then used for primary burials (DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002). However, it should be kept in mind that the increase in burials did not extend to all tombs of the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery. Moreover, the seemingly continuous use of the tombs was marked, in fact, by breaks and changes. In this article a few examples have been presented. Tomb T. XLIX seems to have been among those which were abandoned at the end of LH III C Late because burials of the subsequent LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean phase were altogether absent. On the other hand a limited re-use of this tomb is attested by one burial each of the second Submycenaean and the third (= "Submycenaean/EPG") phases. In contrast, tombs such as T. XXIV and T. XXXV[53] were frequently used during both Submycenaean phases and abandoned thereafter. Small graves of the "acanonical" type such as T. XXVI were confined to the LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean phase. The large tomb T. LXII, too, appears to have no longer been in use after the LH III C Final/Early Submycenaean phase. However, on evidence of the lekythos LXII/24η (Figs. 2:2; 9:9) this tomb, like T. XLIX, may have been re-used towards the close of the Submycenaean period.

The conclusion itself suggests that the growth of population during the transitional period from the LBA to the EPG may be ascribed to immigration. Susanne Fabrizii-Reuer (in DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 149–150) has pointed out that it is not possible to practise cremation without being familiar with the techniques of this burial custom. This fact implies that at Elateia there was a population group who had experience with this custom. The temporary custom of burying corpses in an extremely contracted position, too, was perhaps the result of non-indigenous burial habits rather than a response to the increase in burials. Moreover, new metal adornments and handmade pottery were introduced for burial gifts, and many Mycenaean pottery shapes became obsolete while others such the amphoriskos were transformed and handed down to the subsequent centuries.

However, this is not the place to dwell further on this subject. Suffice it to mention that during the EPG period the number of burials declined, and a limited number of tombs of the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery were used beyond the 10th century BC. Therefore, if the increase in burials during the Submycenaean period at Elateia was, indeed, caused by immigrants, these people did not stay for good – or at least, not all of them stayed. Therefore the evidence of Elateia may present a contribution to the discussion of population movements during the time of transition from the LBA to the EIA in Greece.

Reference to illustrations

Drawings of plans: E. Alram-Stern, P. Hiptmair, A. Weiß(-Bächle).
Drawings of pottery: A. Bächle, B. Eder, E. Held.
Inked drawings: M. Frauenglas, E. Held.
Photographs: St. Alexandrou (bronze objects), E. Alram-Stern (excavation), B. Eder, E. Held (pottery).
Layout: M. Frauenglas.

[53] For further examples see DAKORONIA – DEGER-JALKOTZY – FABRIZII-REUER 2002.

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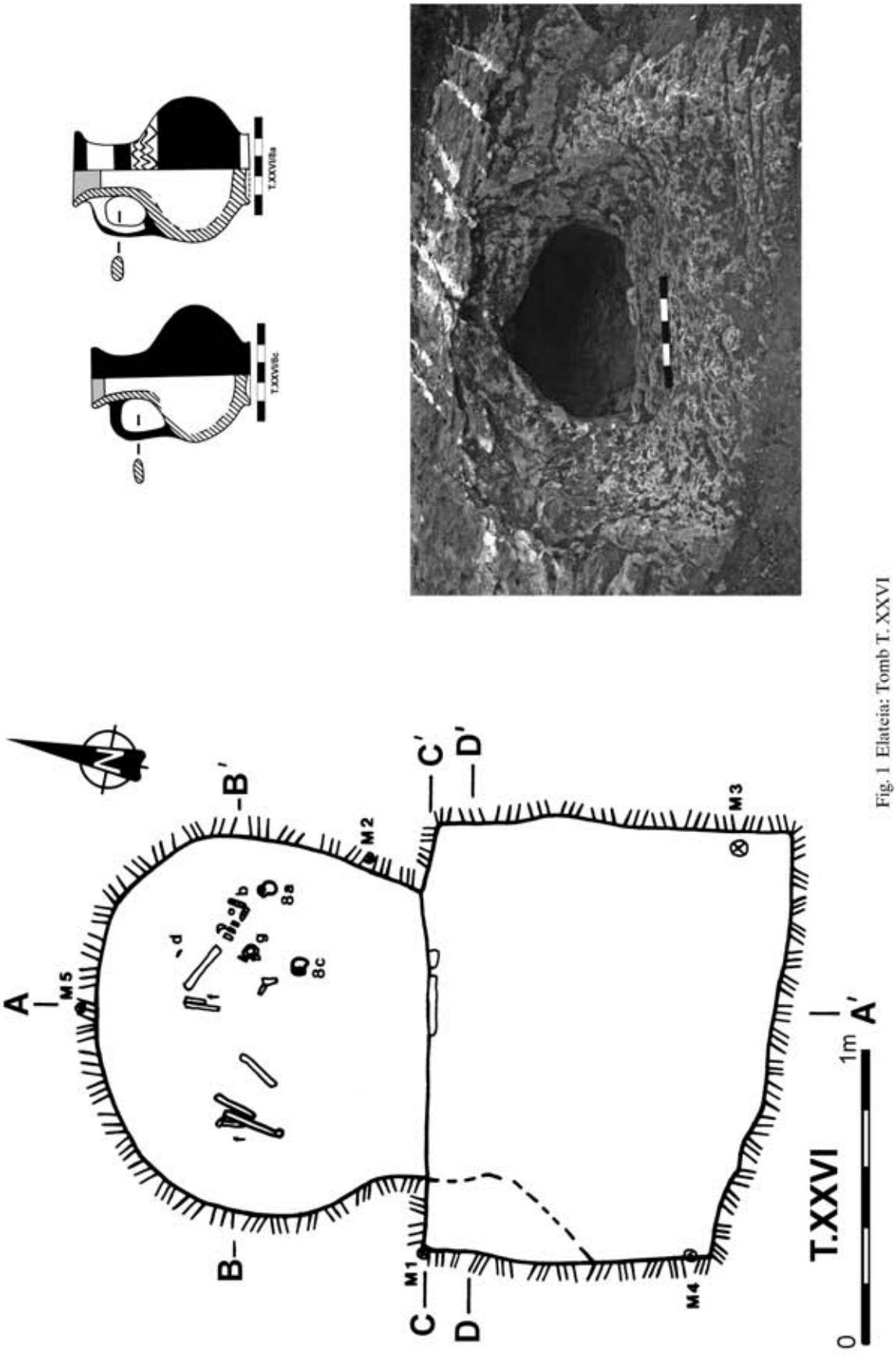

Fig. 1 Elateia: Tomb T. XXVI

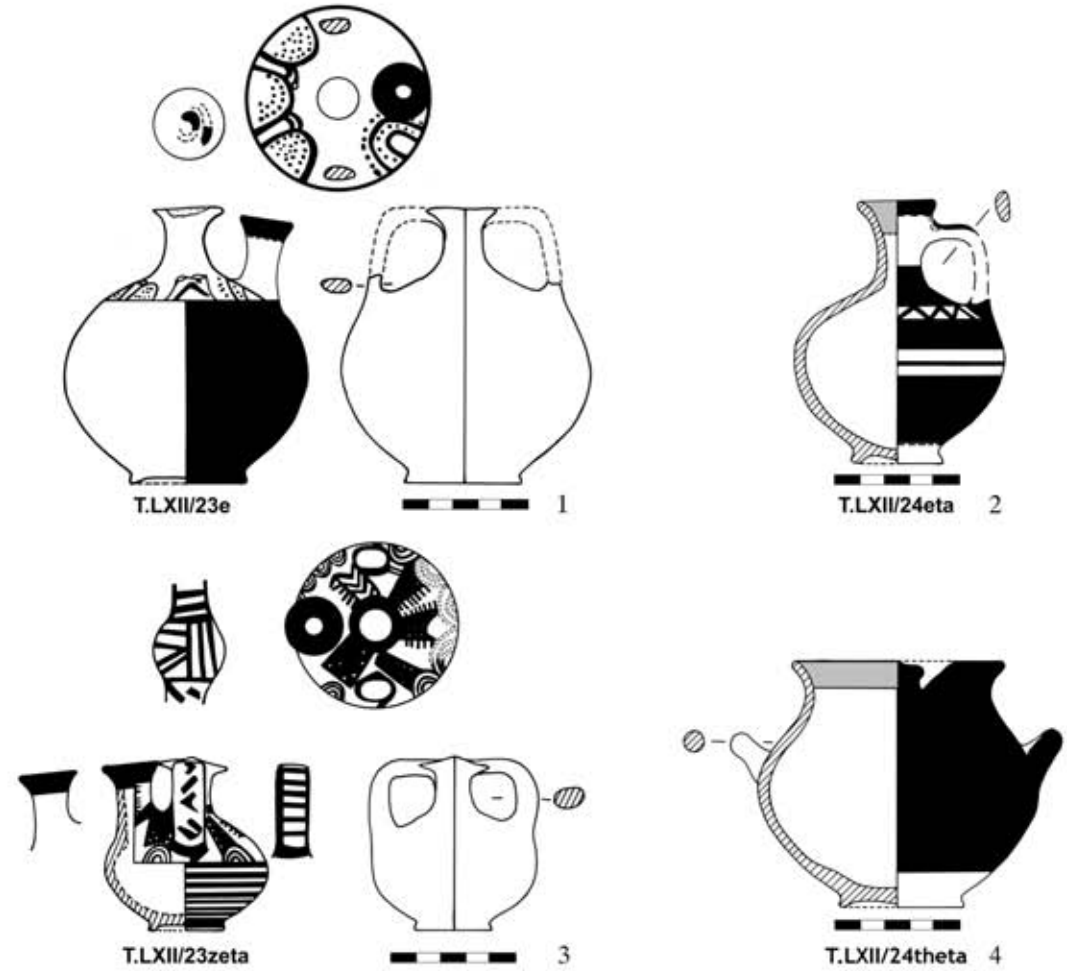

Fig. 2 Elateia, Tomb T. LXII: Group of burials in the north-western part of the chamber. View from the east. – Burial vases

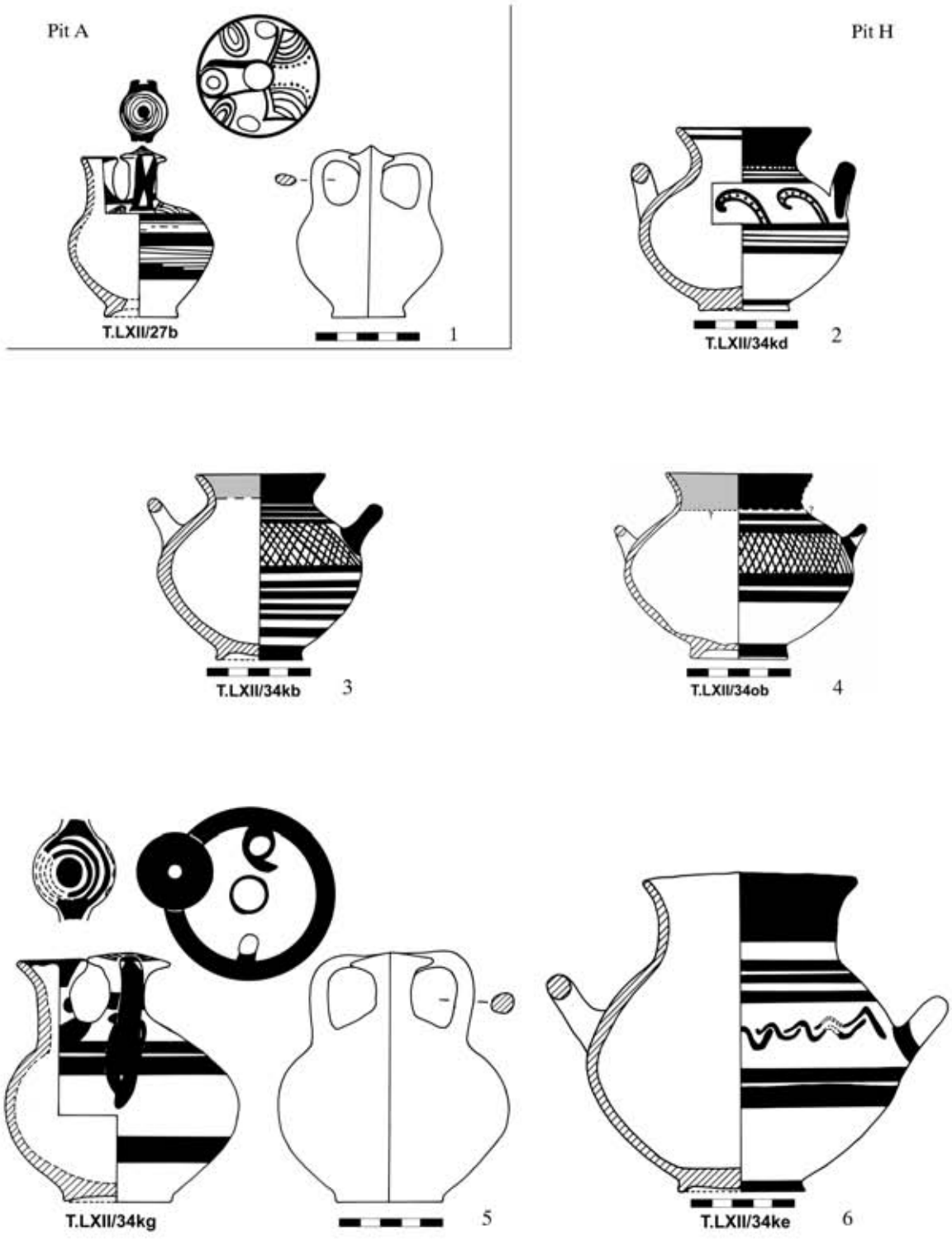

Fig. 3 Elateia, Tomb T. LXII: Chronologically indicative vases from Pit A (.1) and Pit H (.2–.5)

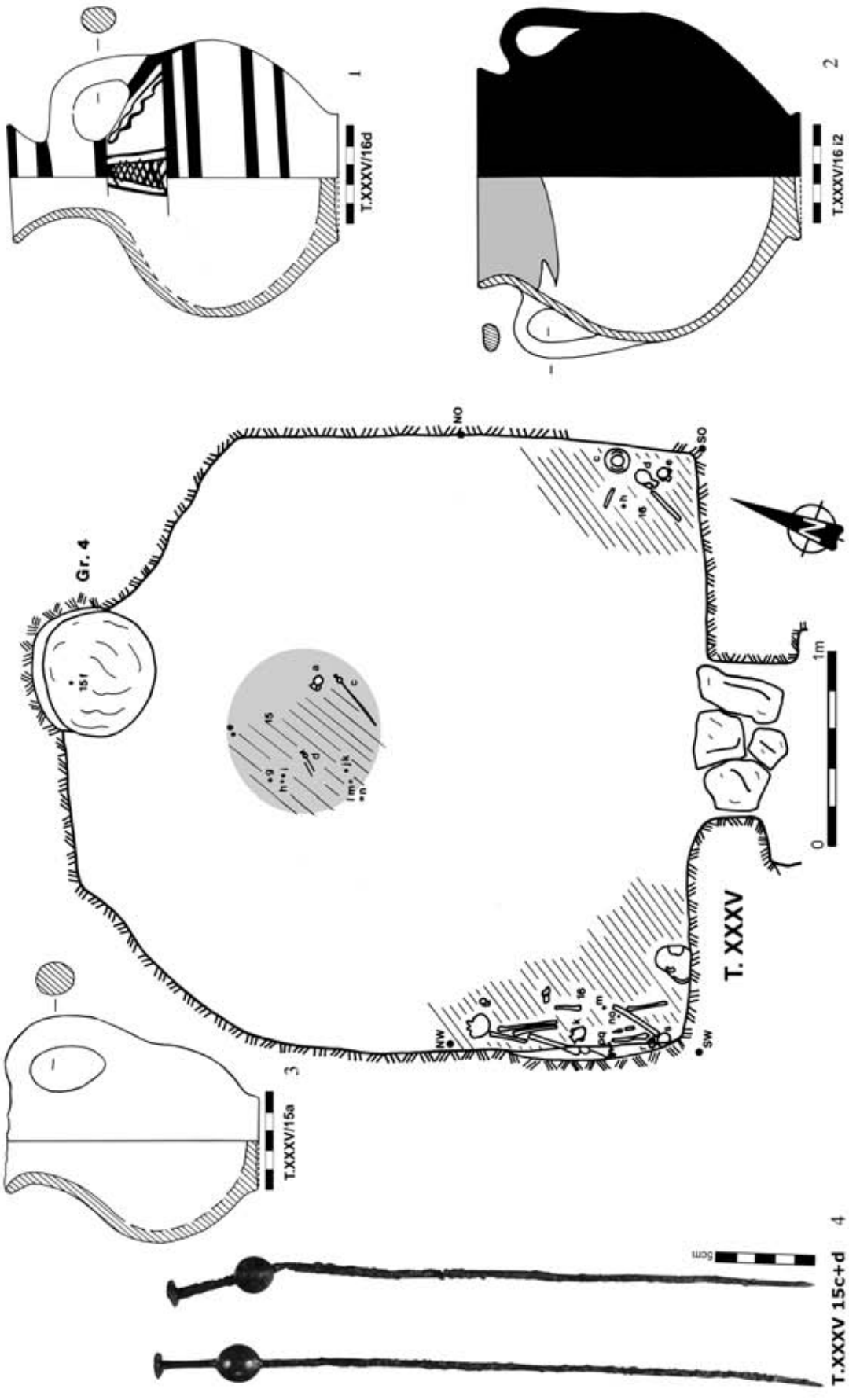

Fig. 4 Elateia, Tomb T. XXXV: Plan of the chamber and chronologically indicative burial gifts

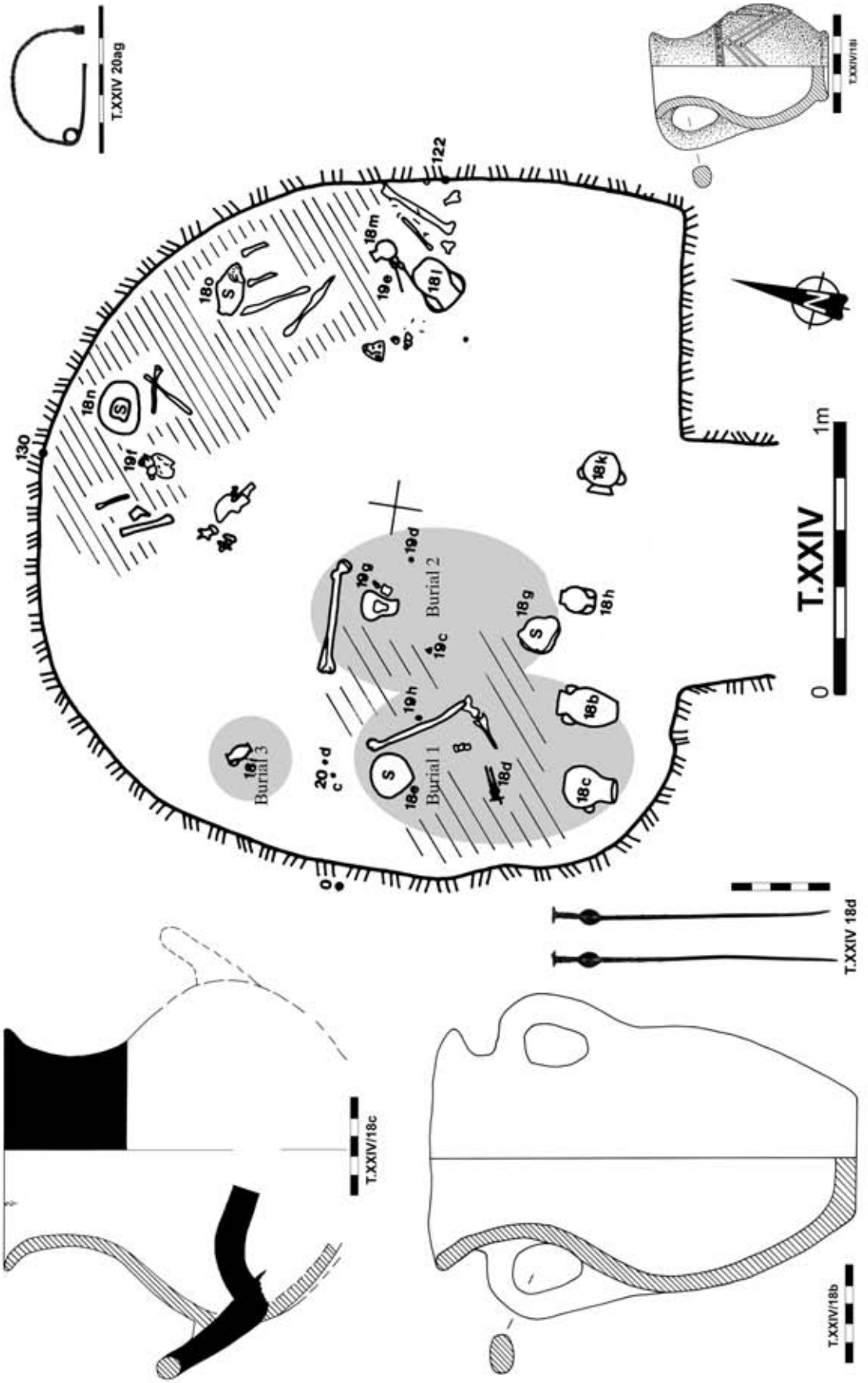

Fig. 5 Elateia, Tomb T. XXIV: Plan of the chamber with Burials 1, 2, 3 and chronologically indicative burial gifts

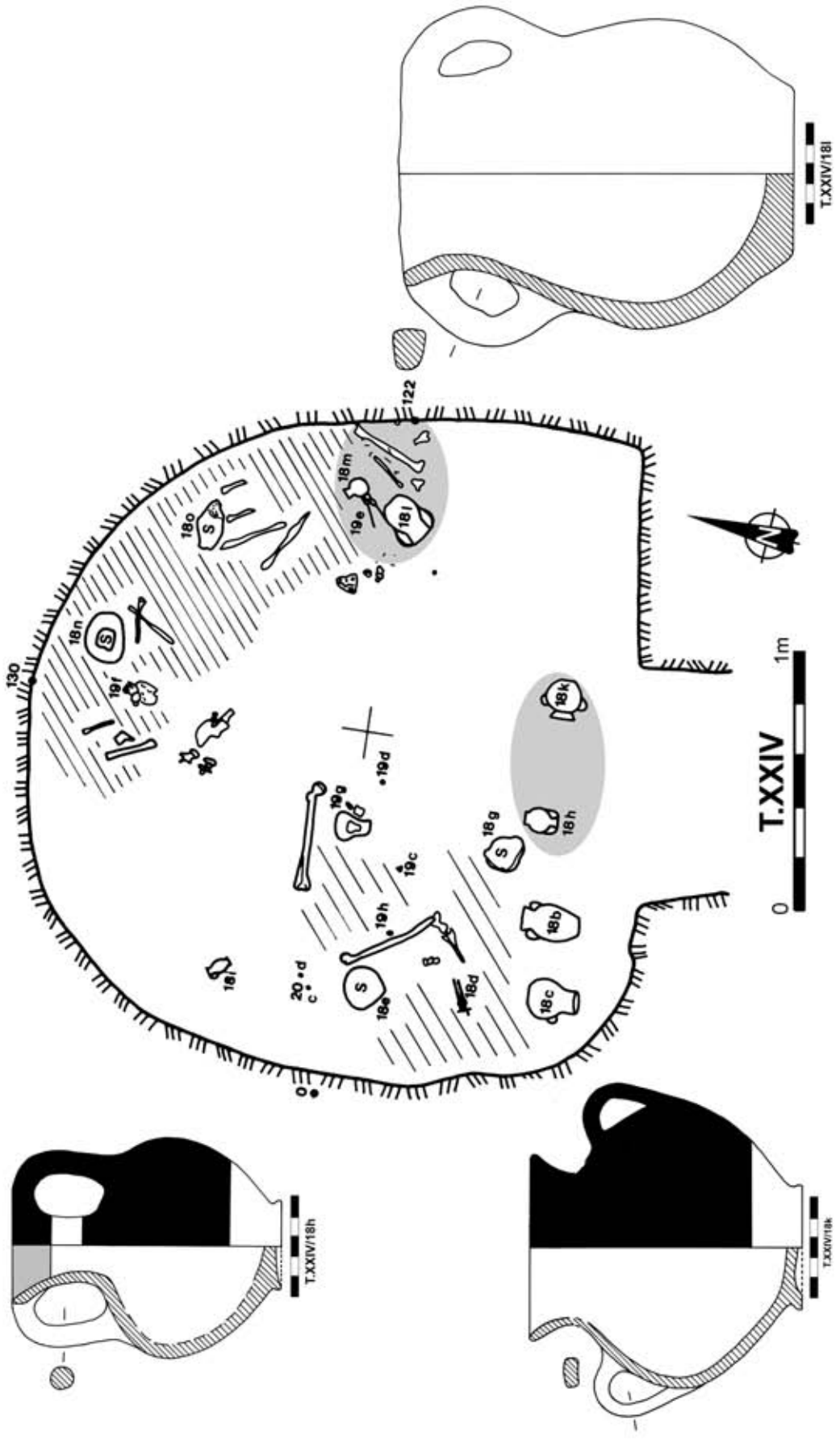

Fig. 6 Elateia, Tomb T. XXIV: Plan of the chamber and chronologically indicative vases from secondary deposits

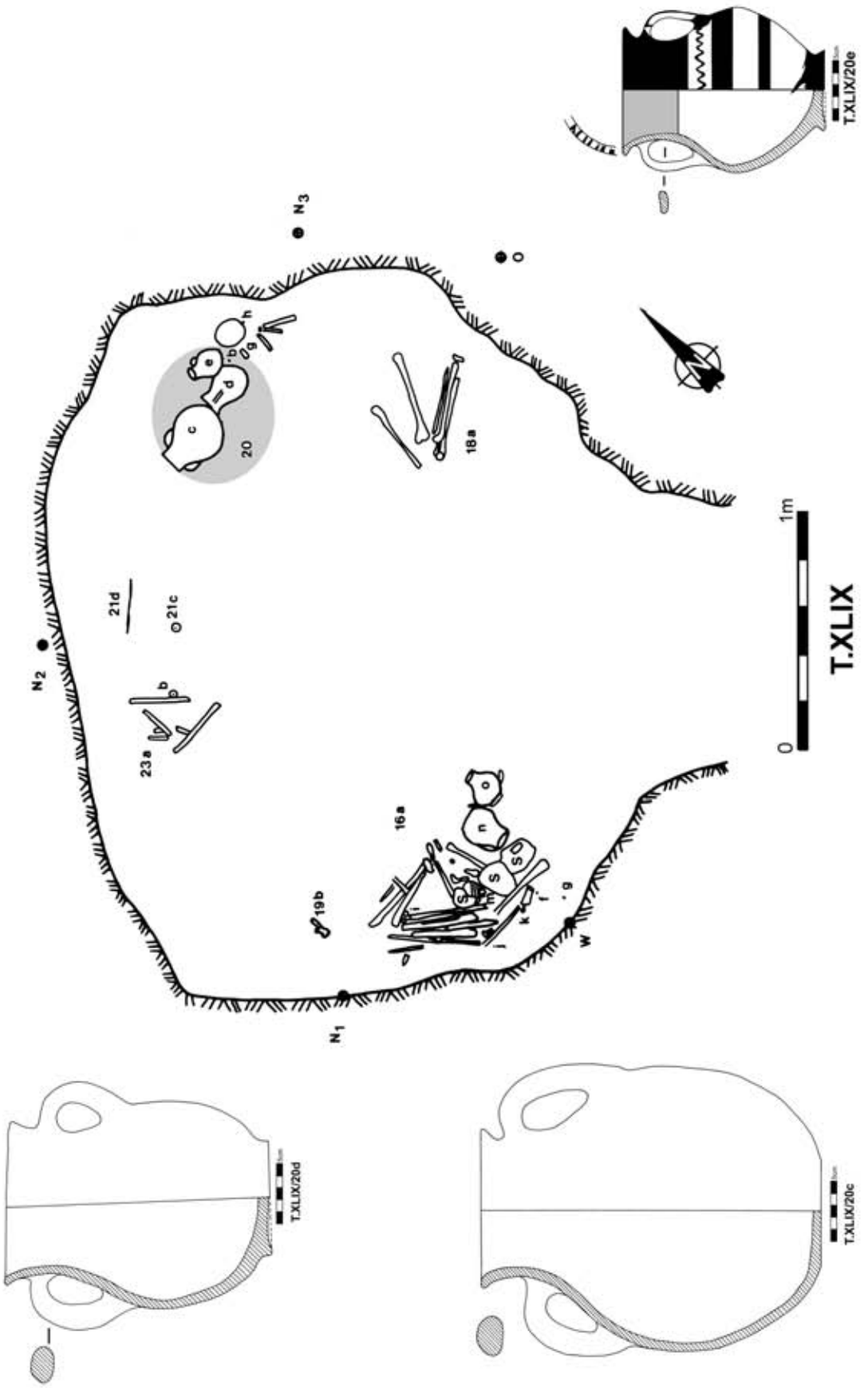

Fig. 7 Elateia, Tomb T. XLIX: Plan of the chamber and vases associated with the final burial found in situ (scale of vases 1:4)

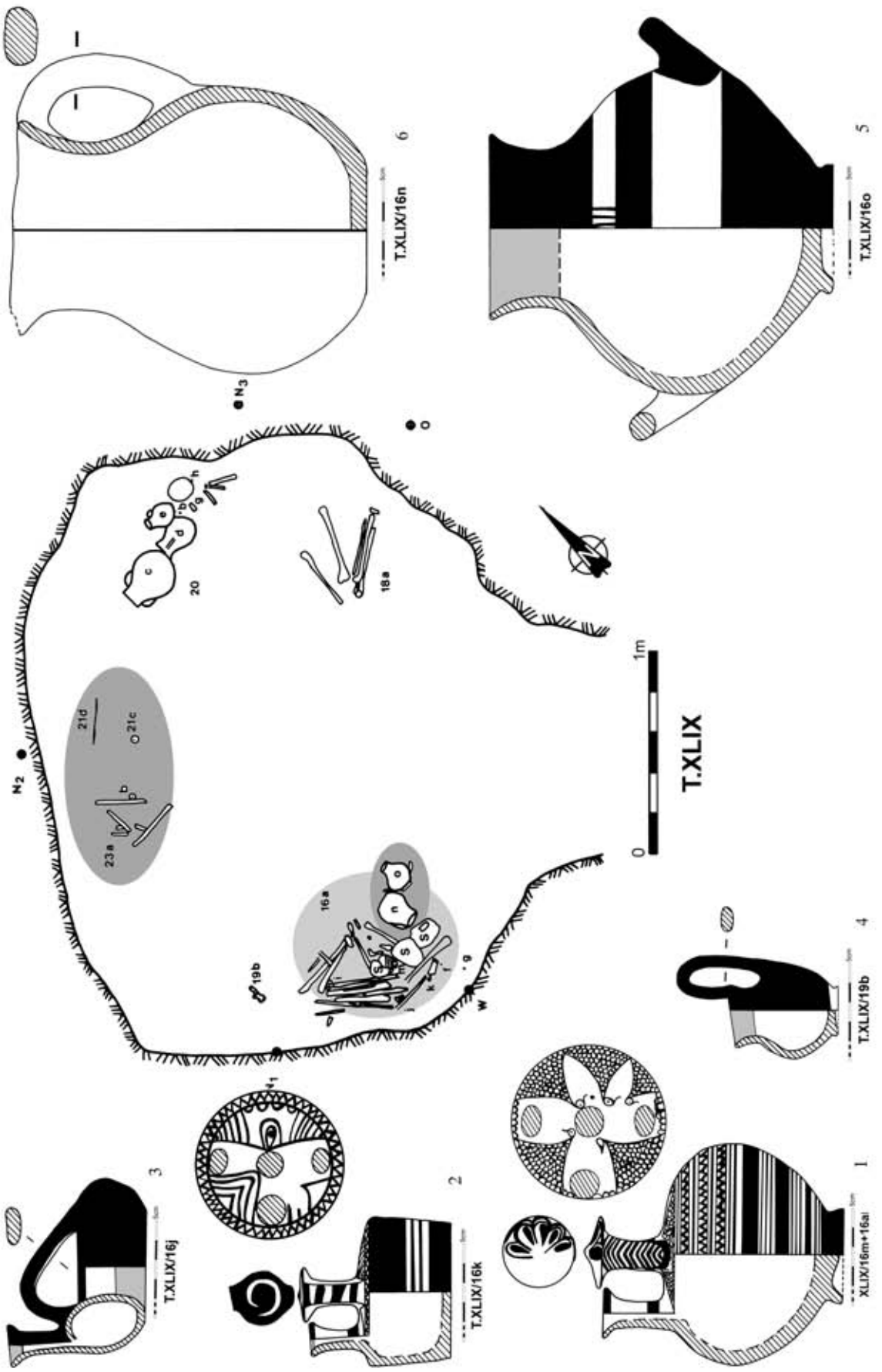

Fig. 8 Elateia, Tomb T. XLIX: Plan of the chamber; cluster of secondary burial deposits in the south-western part with vases dating to LH IIIC Middle (.1. 2.), LH IIIC Late (.3. 4.) and Submycenaean (.5. 6.)

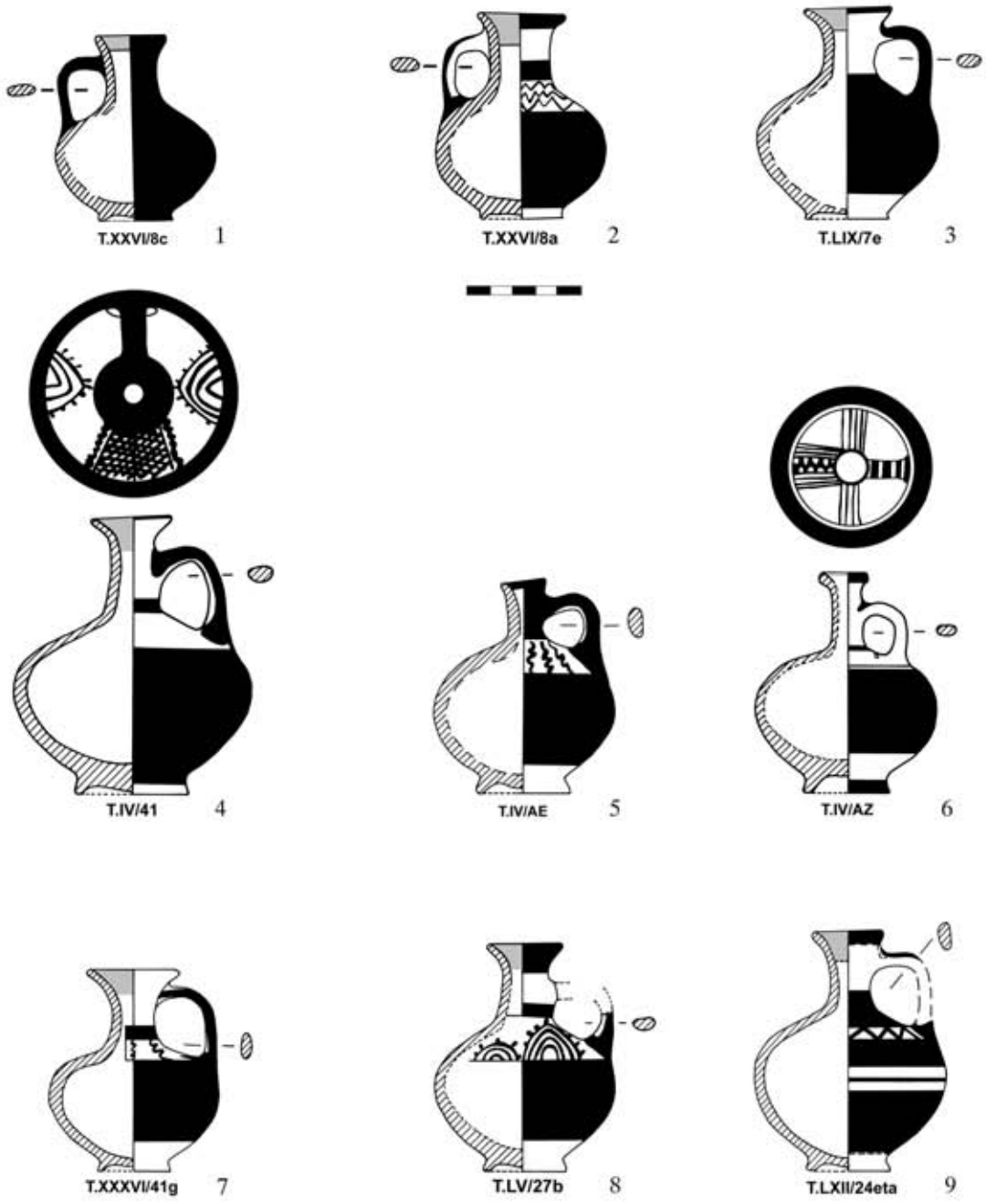

Fig. 9 Elateia: Submycenaean lekythoi

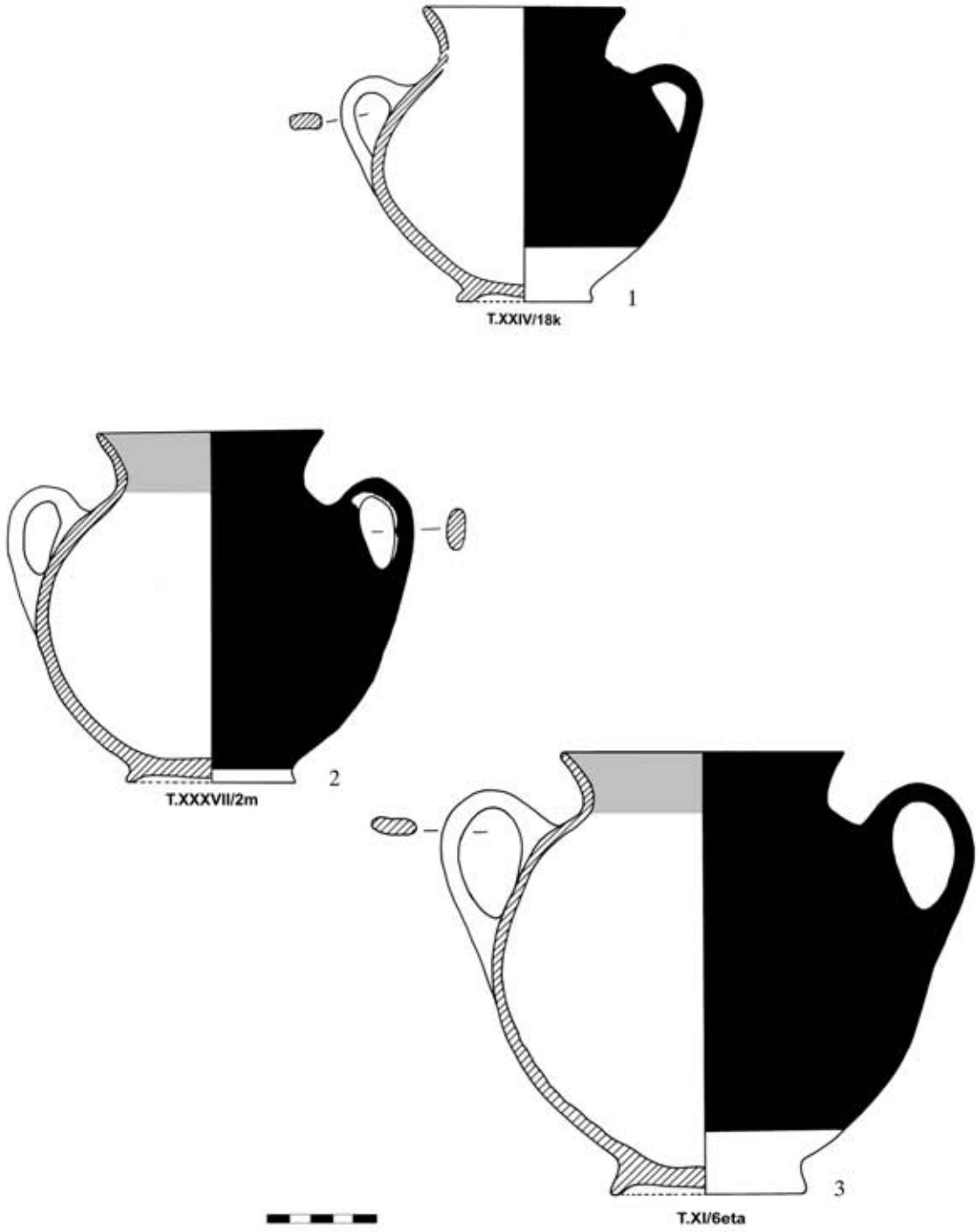

Fig. 10 Elateia: Dark-ground amphoriskoi with vertical handles on the shoulder

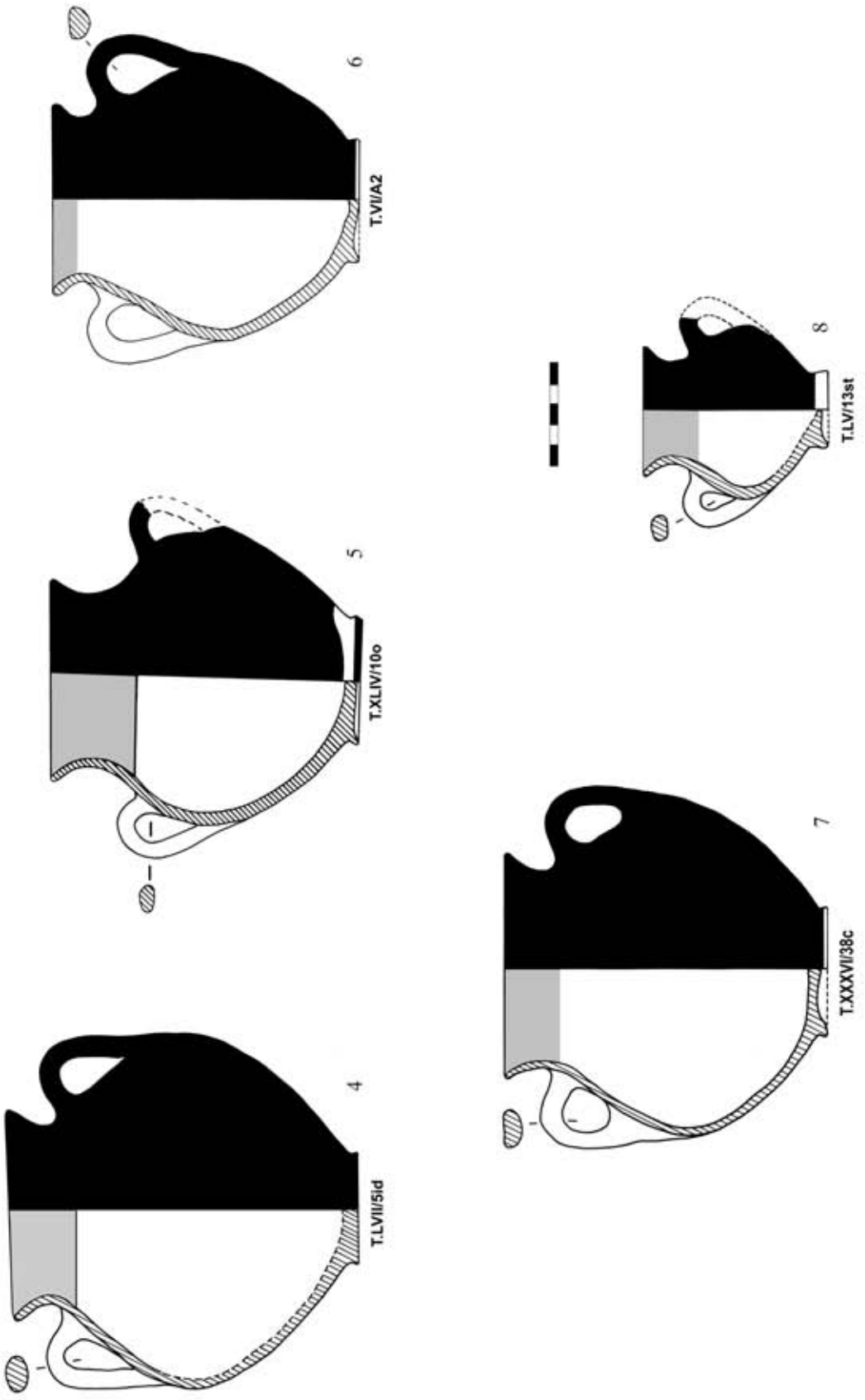

Fig. 11 Elateia: Dark-ground amphoriskoi with vertical handles on the shoulder

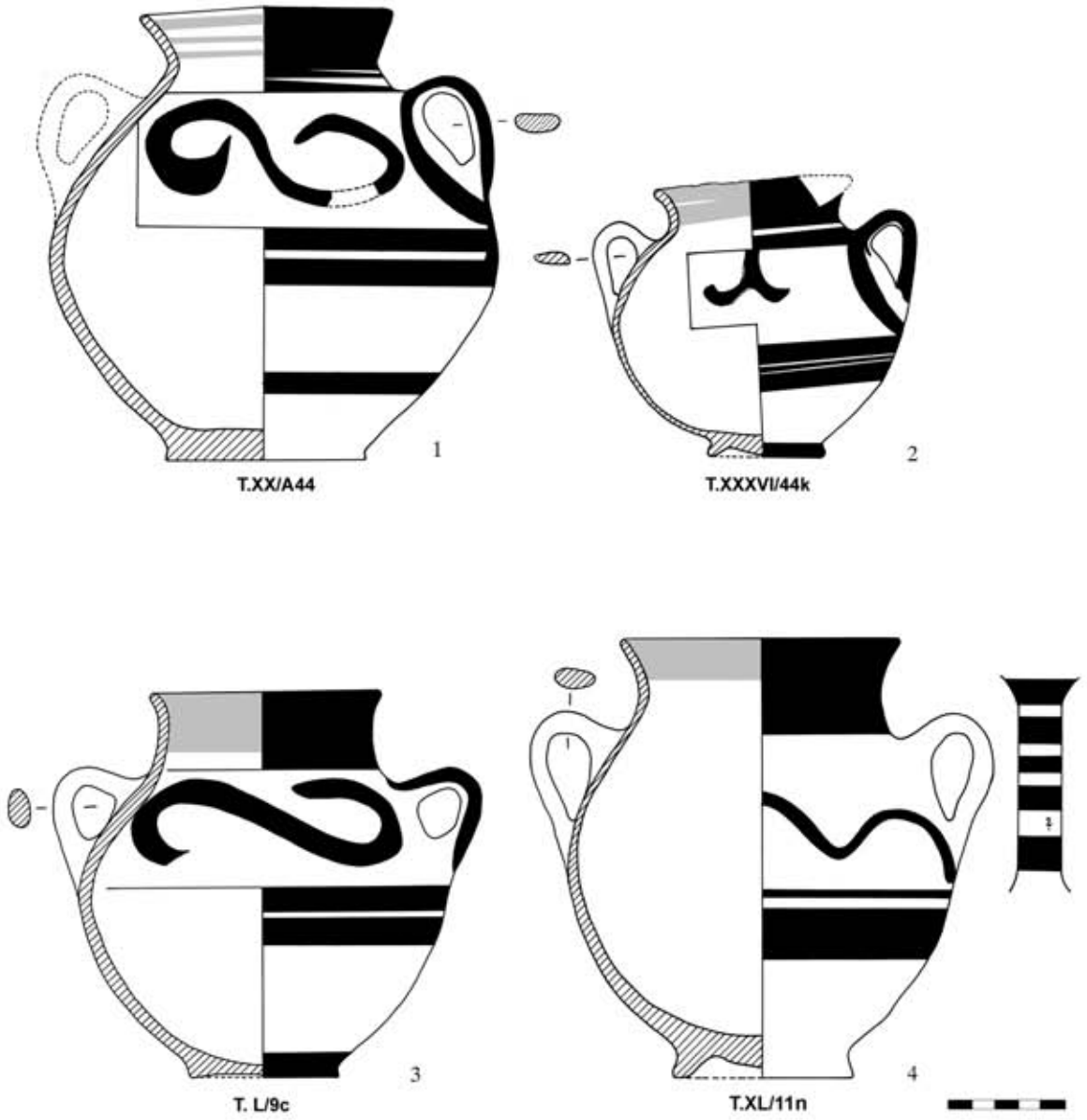

Fig. 12 Elateia: Pattern decorated amphoriskoi with vertical handles on the shoulder

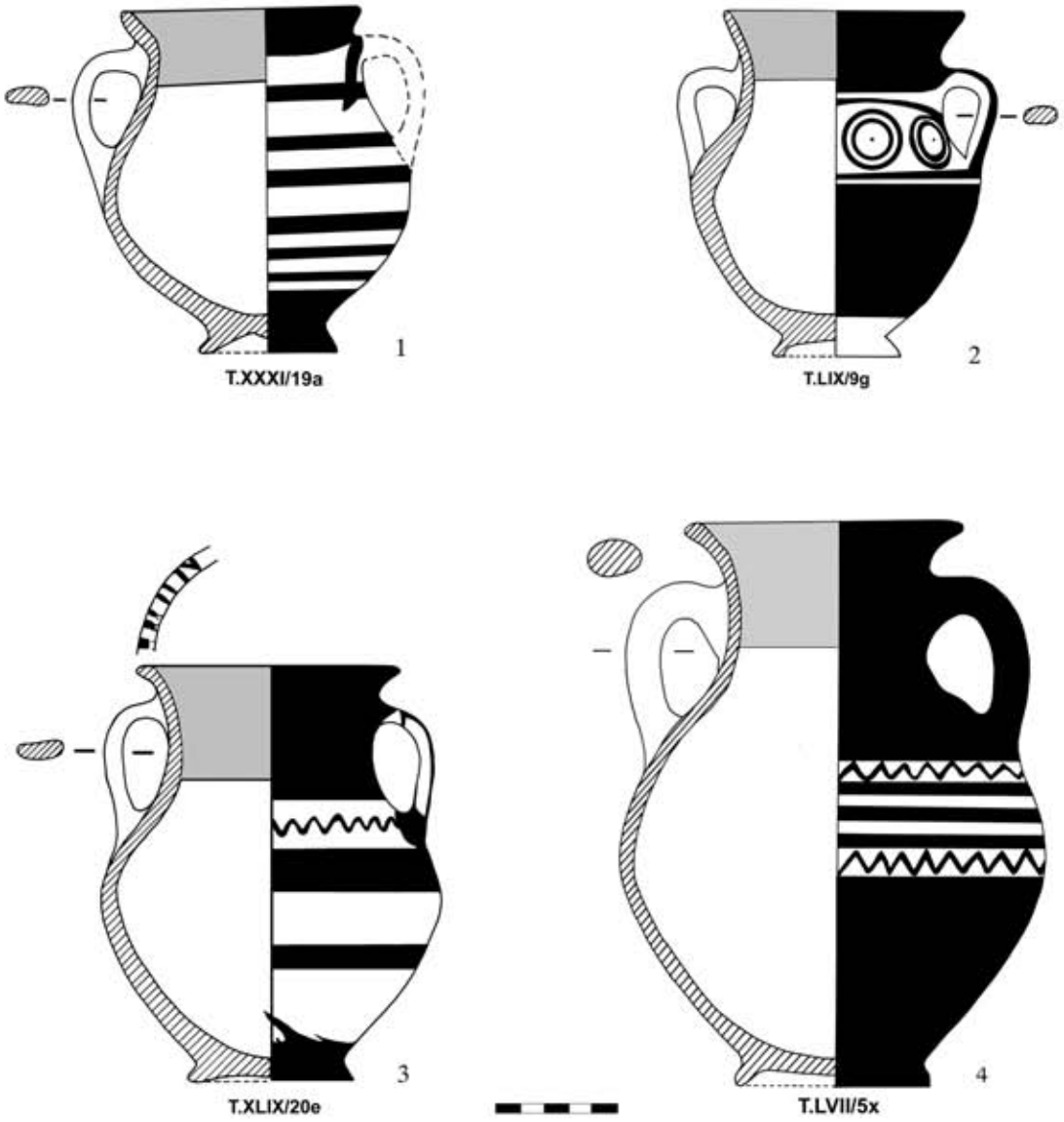

Fig. 13 Elateia: 1. 2. Neck-handled Early Protogeometric amphoriskos (.2) and local version of the same type (.1). – 3. Neck-handled amphoriskos of local Submycenaean–Early Protogeometric style with light ground decoration. – 4. Neck-handled amphoriskos (small amphora) of local Submycenaean–Early Protogeometric style with dark ground decoration

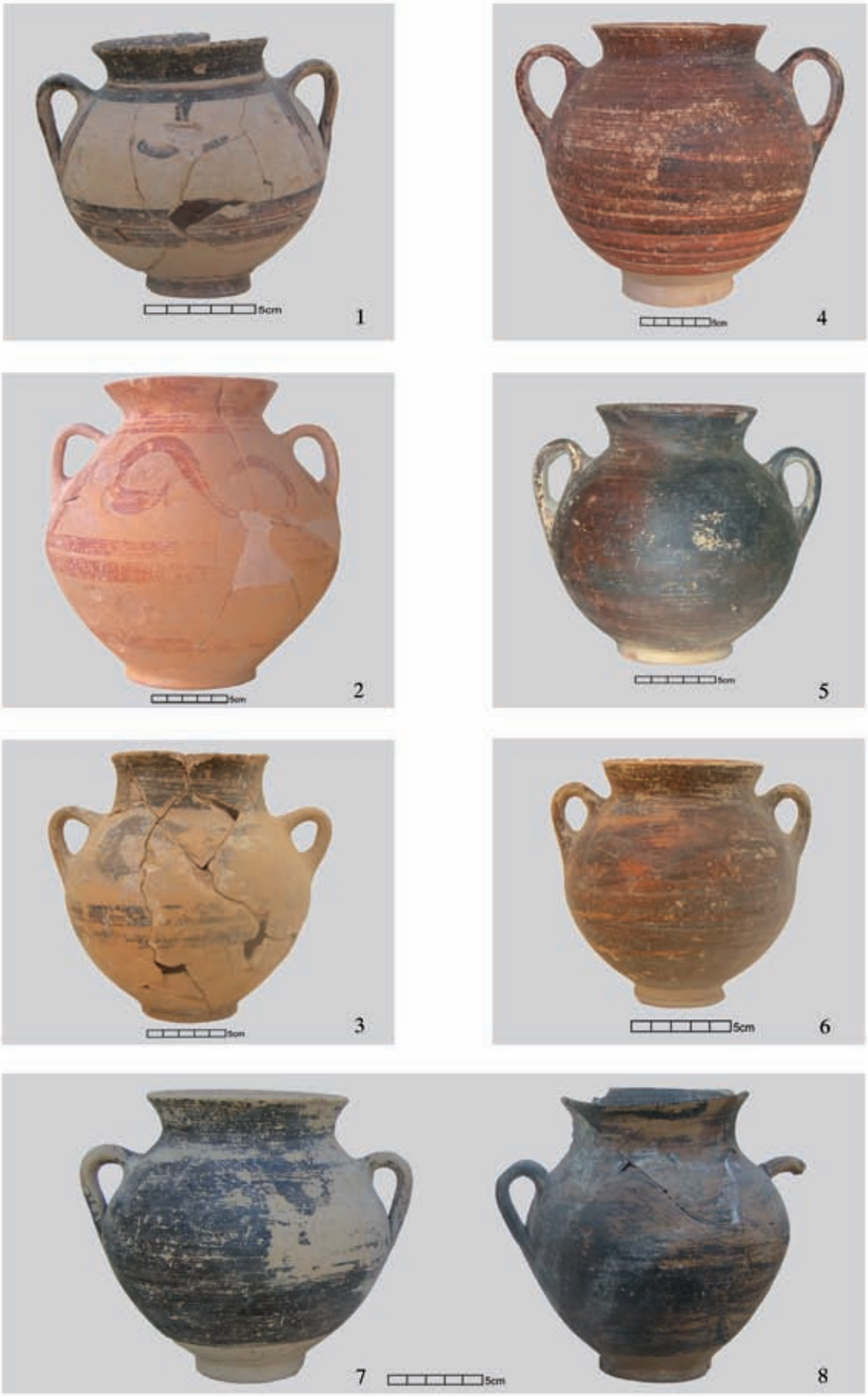

Fig. 14 Elateia: Amphoriskoi with vertical handles on the shoulder. – 1. T. XXXVI/44k. – 2. T. XX/A44. – 3. T. L/9c. – 4. T. XI/6eta. – 5. T. XXXVII/2m. – 6. T. LXIV/5e. – 7. T. XLII/3e (left); T. XLIV/10o (right)

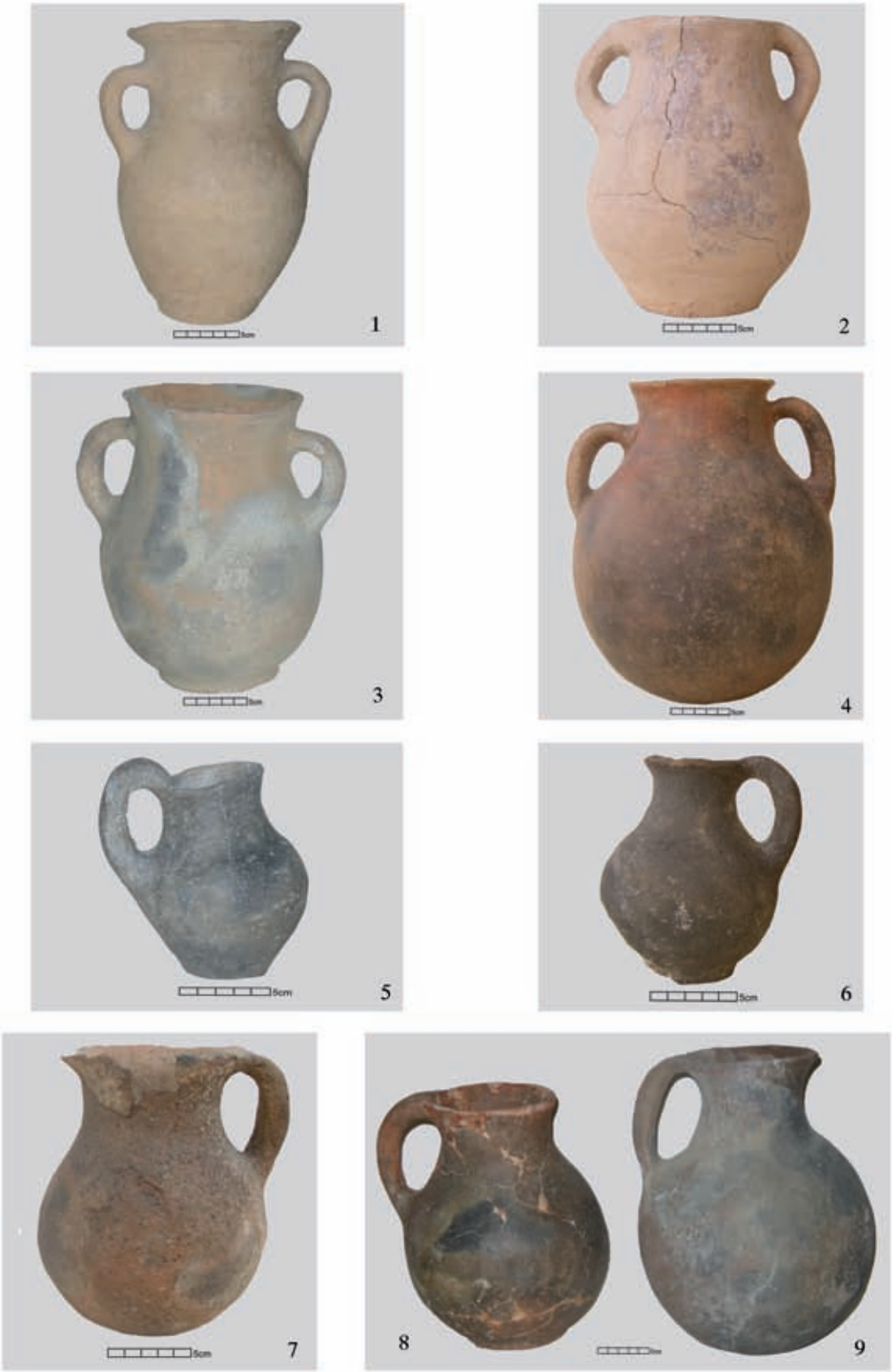

Fig. 15 Elateia: Submycenaean and Early Protogeometric jars and jugs. – 1. T. XXIV/18b. – 2. T. XXIV/18l. – 3. T. XLIX/20d. – 4. T. XLIX/20c. – 5. T. LVI/11b. – 6. T. XXXV/15a. – 7. T. XLIX/16n. – 8. T. XXXVIII/7f (left); T. XLIV/11c (right)